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NEW LIGHT ON THE JEWISH QUESTION.

BY GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L.

THE rising of the native populations of northern and eastern Europe against the Jews continues to increase in extent and in horror. From Germany, Russia, Austria, and the Danubian principalities it has spread to the Ionian Islands. In Russia, where the government takes the lead, the movement has assumed a form which calls forth general cries of indignation and pity. There are symptoms of a sympathetic movement even in France. The anti-Semitic revolt is, in fact, one of the great features of the age. Yet most of those who talk and write about it seem to mistake its nature and its cause.

The general belief has been that the anti-Semitic movement is religious, and that the Jews are being persecuted, as they were, or are assumed to have been, in the middle ages, on account of their faith. Such was the tenor of all the manifestoes, speeches, and editorials in which British indignation against Russia found vent after the anti-Semitic disturbances of 1880. Everybody said that the dark ages had come again, and that the murderous atrocities of mediæval fanaticism were being reënacted in the nineteenth century.

Now, persecution is not the tendency of the Russian or of the church to which he belongs. The Eastern Church, while it has

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been superstitious and torpid, has always been tolerant, and, compared with other orthodox churches, free from the stain of persecution. It has not even been proselytizing, nor has it ever sent forth crusaders. Stanley, in his "Eastern Church" (p. 34), dilates upon this characteristic of the Eastern Christians. He says that "a respectful reverence for every manifestation of religious feeling has withheld them from violent attacks on the rights of conscience and led them to extend a kindly patronage to forms of faith most removed from their own"; and he notices that the great philosophers of antiquity are honored by portraits in their churches as heralds of the gospel. Mackenzie Wallace, who is the best authority, while he admits the inferiority of the Russian priests in learning, testifies strongly to their innocence of persecution, saying that "they have neither that haughty intolerance which characterizes their Roman Catholic brethren nor that narrow-minded, bitter, uncharitable sectarian spirit which is too often to be found among Protestants," and that "they allow not only to heretics, but also to members of their own communion, the most complete intellectual freedom, and never think of anathematizing any one for his scientific or unscientific opinions." The educated classes he represents as generally indifferent to theological questions. The peasantry are superstitious and blindly attached to their own faith, which they identify with their nationality; but they think it perfectly natural and right that a man of a different nationality should have a different religion. In the great fair of Nizni-Novgorod the Mohammedan mosque and the Armenian church stand side by side with the orthodox cathedral. At one end of a village is the church, at the other the mosque, and the Mohammedan spreads his prayer-carpet on the deck of a steamer full of orthodox Russians. The Czar is practically, though not theoretically, head of the church as well as of the state; he is the chief of Holy Russia, and in the interest rather of national unity than of religious orthodoxy he restrains proselytism. Nicholas was the most rigorous of Czars, and the most bent on the enforcement of uniformity. Yet Mackenzie Wallace tells a pleasant story of his commending the Jewish sentinel who had conscientiously refused to return the Czar's Easter salutation.

Assuredly the Russian government has never been guilty of anything like the persecutions of Philip II., Ferdinand of Aus-

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tria, or Louis XIV. That the Jews have had liberty of worship and education, the existence of 6,319 synagogues and of 77 Jewish schools supported by the state, besides 1,165 private and communal schools, seems clearly to prove.* A Roman cardinal, before he flings his stone at the Russian Church for persecuting the Jews, should think of the records of his own church and look into the Encyclical which he holds in his hand.

After the last anti-Semitic disturbances in Russia, and when the vials of British wrath had been fully poured forth upon the Czar and his people, the British consuls at the different places in Russia at which disturbances had taken place were directed to report on them to the government. Their reports are comprised in two blue books (1881), into which few probably took the trouble to look at the time, but which every one who undertakes to deal with this question and pass judgment on the conduct of the Russian Government and people ought to make a point of reading.

From the consuls we learn, in the first place, that, though the riots were deplorable and criminal, the Jewish accounts published in the London *Times* were in most cases exaggerated, and in some to an extravagant extent. The damage to Jewish property at Odessa, rated in the Jewish account at 1,137,381 rubles, or, according to their higher estimates, 3,000,000 rubles, was rated, Consul-General Stanley tells us, by a respectable Jew on the spot at 50,000 rubles, while the consul-general himself rates it at 20,000. At Elizabethgrad, instead of whole streets being razed to the ground, only one hut had been unroofed. Few Jews, if any, had been intentionally killed, though some died of injuries received in the riots. The outrages on women, of which, according to the Jewish accounts, there had been a frightful number—no less than thirty in one place and twenty-five in another—and by which public indignation in England had been most fiercely aroused, seem, after inquiries by the consuls, to have been reduced to something like half a dozen authenticated cases in all. This is the more remarkable because the riots commonly began with the sacking of the *vodka* shops, which are kept by the Jews, so that the passions of the mob must have been inflamed by drink. The horrible charge brought by the Jews in *The Times* against the Russian women, of having incited the men to outrage their Jewish sisters and held the Jewesses down, to punish them for their

* "Statesman's Year-Book," 1891, pp. 854-856.

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superior finery in dress, is found to be utterly baseless. The charge of roasting children alive also falls to the ground. The Jewish pamphlet reprinted from the London *Times* states that a Jewish innkeeper was cooped in one of his own barrels and cast into the Dnieper. This turns out to be a fable, the village which was the alleged scene of it being ten miles from the Dnieper and near no other river of consequence. The Russian peasant is entitled to justice. As a rule, though ignorant and often, thanks to the Jewish vodka shop, intemperate, he is good-natured. There was much brutality, but not the fiendish atrocity which marks the risings of the populace of Paris. For the belief that the mob was "doing the will of the Czar"—in other words, that the government was at bottom of the rising—there does not appear to have been a shadow of foundation. The action of the authorities was not in all cases equally prompt. At Warsaw the commandant held back, though as Lord Granville, the British ambassador, bears witness, his motive for hesitation was humanity. But numbers of rioters were shot down or bayoneted by the troops, hundreds were flogged, some were imprisoned, and some were sent to Siberia. It was not likely that the Russian Government would encourage insurrection. People of the upper class, fancying that in the agitation was the work of Socialists, would be sure not to sympathize with the rioters. Efforts were made by the government to restore Jewish property, and handsome sums were subscribed for the relief of the sufferers.

A lesson of caution is read us when we see charges so foul as that against the Russian women published in the London *Times* reproduced in an authorized pamphlet and generally accepted. The darkness in which Russia is shrouded exposes her to calumny, against which her government takes little care to defend itself. She is unpopular on account of her despotism, which hitherto she has not been able to help, and for which even now no substitute is proposed by anybody except the Nihilists, who propose a chaos out of which a sterner despotism would spring. She has been hated in England since the Crimean War, which was brought on, not by her, though the Czar behaved unwisely, but by the machinations of Louis Napoleon and Palmerston. Even with regard to her prisons and prison system, for which, as well as for her treatment of the Jews, she is now arraigned, let those who wish to do justice compare with the thrilling narratives of the platform the

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work of Mr. Lansdell, an apparently honest and sober writer, who, after thorough inspection on the spot, depicts the Russian prison system as simply like other things in Russia, below the level of advanced civilization, while he vastly reduces the number and sufferings of political exiles. Of these exiles, many, it must be remembered, are members of a murder-club which assassinated the emancipator of the serfs. When the quarrel is Jewish, more than usual caution is required, since the press of Europe is to a great and increasing extent in the hands of Jews.

The most important part of the evidence given in the consuls' reports, however, is that which relates to the cause of the troubles. At Warsaw, where the people are Roman Catholics, there appears to have been a certain amount of passive sympathy with the insurgents on religious grounds. But everywhere else the concurrent testimony of the consuls is that the source of the agitation was economical and social, not religious. Bitterness produced by the exactions of the Jew, envy of his wealth, jealousy of his ascendency, combined in the lowest of the mob with the love of plunder, were the motives of the people for attacking him, not hatred of his faith. Vice-Consul Wagstaff, who seems to have paid particular attention to the question and made the most careful inquiry, after paying a tribute to the sober, laborious thrifty character and the superior intelligence of the Jew, and ascribing to these his increasing monopoly of commerce, proceeds :

"It is chiefly as brokers or middle-men that the Jews are so prominent. Seldom a business transaction of any kind takes place without their intervention, and from both sides they receive compensation. To enumerate some of their other occupations, constantly denounced by the public: they are the principal dealers in spirits ; keepers of 'vodka' (drinking) shops and houses of ill-fame ; receivers of stolen goods ; illegal pawnbrokers and usurers. A branch they also succeed in is as government contractors. With their knowledge of handling money, they collude with unscrupulous officials in defrauding the state to vast amounts annually. In fact, the malpractices of some of the Jewish community have a bad influence on those whom they come in contact with. It must, however, be said that there are many well-educated, highly-respectable, and honorable Jews in Russia, but they form a small minority. This class is not treated upon in this paper. They thoroughly condemn the occupations of their lower brethren, and one of the results of the late disturbances is noticed in the movement at present amongst the Jews. They themselves acknowledge the abuses practised by some of their own members, and suggest remedial measures to allay the irritation existing among the working classes.

"Another thing the Jews are accused of is that there exists among them a system of boycotting ; they use their religion for business purposes. This

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is expressed by the words 'koul,' or 'kagal,' and 'kherim.' For instance, in Bessarabia, the produce of a vineyard is drawn for by lot, and falls, say, to Jacob Levy; the other Jews of the district cannot compete with Levy, who buys the wine at his own price. In the leasing by auction of government and provincial lands, it is invariably a Jew who outbids the others and afterwards relets plots to the peasantry at exorbitant prices. Very crying abuses of farming out land have lately come to light and greatly shocked public opinion. Again, where estates are farmed by Jews, it is distressing to see the pitiable condition in which they are handed over on the expiration of the lease. Experience also shows they are very bad colonists.

"Their fame as usurers is well known. Given a Jewish recruit with a few rubles' capital, it can be worked out, mathematically, what time it will take him to become the money-lender of his company or regiment, from the drummer to the colonel. Take the case of a peasant: if he once gets into the hands of this class, he is irretrievably lost. The proprietor, in his turn, from a small loan gradually mortgages and eventually loses his estate. A great deal of landed property in south Russia has of late years passed into the hands of the Israelites, but principally into the hands of intelligent and sober peasants.

"From first to last, the Jew has his hand in everything. He advances the seed for sowing, which is generally returned in kind—quarters for bushels. As harvest time comes round, money is required to gather in the crops. This is sometimes advanced on hard conditions; but the peasant has no choice; there is no one to lend him money, and it is better to secure something than to lose all. Very often the Jew buys the whole crop as it stands in the field on his own terms. It is thus seen that they themselves do not raise agricultural products, but they reap the benefits of others' labor, and steadily become rich, while proprietors are gradually getting ruined. In their relation to Russia they are compared to parasites that have settled on a plant not vigorous enough to throw them off, and which is being gradually sapped of its vitality."

The peasants, the vice-consul tells us, often say, when they look at the property of a Jew, "That is my blood." In confirmation of his view he cites the list of demands formulated by the peasants and laid before a mixed committee of inquiry into the causes of the disorder. These demands are all economical or social, with the exception of the complaint that Russian girls in Jewish service forget their religion and with it lose their morals. Everything, in short, seems to bear out the statement of the Russian Minister of the Interior, in a manifesto given in the blue book, that "the movement had its main cause in circumstances purely economical," provided that to "economical" we add "social," and include all that is meant by the phrase "hatred of Jewish usurpation" used in another document.

Vice-Consul Harford, at Sebastopol, is in contact with the Jews of the Crimea, who, he says, are of a superior order, while

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some of them are not Talmudic Jews, but belong to the mild sect of the Karaites. He says that in his quarter all goes well.

"The spirit of antagonism that animates the Russian against the Jew is, in my opinion, in no way to be traced to the difference of creed. In this part of Russia, where we have more denominations of religion than in any other part, I have never, during a residence of fourteen years, observed the slightest indication of sectarianism in any class. The peasant, though ignorant and superstitious, is so entirely free from bigotry that even the openly-displayed contempt of the fanatical Mohammedan Crim Tartar for the rights and ceremonies of the Russian Church fails to excite in him the slightest feeling of personal animosity; his own feeling with regard to other religions is perfect indifference; he enters a mosque or synagogue just as he would enter a theatre, and regards the ceremony in much the same manner that an English peasant would, neither knowing nor caring to know whether they worshipped God or the moon. As it is evident from this that race and creed are to the minds of the peasantry of no more consequence than they would be to a Zulu, the only conclusion is that the antipathy is against the usurer, and as civilization can only be expected to influence the rising generation of Russian peasantry, the remedy rests with the Jew, who, if he will not refrain from speculating (in lawless parts of the empire) on ignorance and drunkenness, must be prepared to defend himself and his property from the certain and natural result of such a policy."

In Germany, in Austria, in Rumania, in all the countries of Europe where this deplorable contest of races is going on, the cause of quarrel appears to be fundamentally the same. It appears to be economical and social, not religious, or religious only in a secondary degree. Mr. Baring-Gould tells us that in Germany "there is scarce a village without some Jews in it, who do not cultivate land themselves, but lie in wait like spiders for the failing Bauer." A German who knew the peasantry well said to Mr. Gould that "he doubted whether there were a happier set of people under the sun." But he added, after a pause, "so long as they are out of the clutch of the Jew." Of the German, as well as of the Russian, it may be said that he is not a religious persecutor. If persecution of a sanguinary or violent kind has ever sullied his annals, the arm of it was the house of Austria, with its Spanish connection, and the head was the world-roving Jesuit. In the case of Hungary, Mr. Paget, who is a Liberal and advocates a liberal policy towards the Jews, says: "The Jew is no less active in profiting by the vices and necessities of the peasant than by those of the noble. As sure as he gains a settlement in a village the peasantry become poor." "In Austrian Poland," says a *Times* reviewer, "the worst of the peasant's

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sluggish content is that it has given him over to the exactions of the Jews." "The Jews," he adds, "are in fact the lords of the country." They are lords not less alien to the people than the Norman was to the Saxon, and perhaps not always more merciful, though in their hands is the writ of ejection instead of the conqueror's sword.

Light dawned on the writer's mind on this question when he had just been listening with sympathy to speeches in the British House of Commons on the anti-Semitic movement in Rumania, where, as in Russia, the number of Jews is particularly large and the feeling against them is proportionately intense. The Jewish member who appealed to the government on the subject, and the Foreign Secretary who responded to the appeal had both of them assumed that it was a case of religious persecution, and the Foreign Secretary especially dwelt on the mischievous influence of ecclesiastics; with how little justice, so far as the priests of the Eastern Church are concerned, we have already seen. The debate over, the writer was accosted by his friend the late Dr. Humphrey Sandwith, distinguished for his share in the defence of Kars against the Russians, who knew the Danubian principalities well. Dr. Sandwith said that the speakers had been entirely mistaken; that religion was not the motive of the agitation; that neither the people nor their priests were intolerant; that the government had given aid to a synagogue; but that Jewish usurers got the simple-minded peasants into their toils and sold them out of their homesteads till the peasants would bear it no longer, and an outbreak ensued. Dr. Sandwith, being a thorough-going Liberal, would have been the last man to palliate religious persecution.

In the middle ages intolerance reigned. Christian heretics were persecuted fully as much as Jews, and their case was the harder as they were not voluntary intruders, but natives. The Jew had shown in his persecution of Christianity that he was not less intolerant than the rest. Yet even in the middle ages perhaps the economical and social causes of popular hostility to the Jews had more influence in proportion to the religious cause than is commonly assumed. When the people rise, as at York, they make for the depositaries of the Jewish bonds. The Crusades carried popular fanaticism to its height, but the Jews had probably at the same time increased their social unpopularity by making usurious profits out of the needs of the Crusaders. It was,

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moreover, suspected, not without some reason, that the hearts of the Hebrews were on the Oriental side. The clearest as well as the most horrible case of religious persecution was in Spain; though even in Spain it was a battle of races as much as of creeds, and the Jew suffered partly at least for being the kinsman and suspected ally of the Moor.

The explanation of the whole trouble, and of all the calamities and horrors attending it, past or to come, is that the Jews are, to adopt the phrase borrowed by Vice-Consul Wagstaff from natural history, a parasitic race. Detached from their own country, they insert themselves for the purpose of gain into the homes of other nations, while they retain a marked and repellent nationality of their own. They are not the only parasitic race, though they are incomparably the most important and formidable; the Armenians, the Greeks of the dispersion, ancient and modern, the Parsis, and even the humble Gypsies, being other instances, while the Lombards in the middle ages and the Italians generally when their country had fallen under foreign dominion showed something like the same tendency. There is, therefore, nothing miraculous or mysterious in their condition.

Whence their parasitism took its rise is a point on which we seem not to be clearly informed. We can only be sure that it had a natural origin. Certainly it was anterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, though it was fixed and perpetuated by that catastrophe. It may have begun with the transplantation to Babylon, and have been extended by the transplantation to Egypt under the Ptolemies. But its principal cause probably was the narrowness of the Jewish territory combined with the love of gain in the Jew. The Hebrew was the near kinsman of the Phœnician, who by the narrowness of his territory and his love of gain was likewise impelled to adventure, and Jewish parasitism is the counterpart, under another form, of that Phœnician colonization which, unlike the nobler colonization of the Greek, was strictly mercantile in its aim. Apparently, there was a religious party in Judea which wished to make the people simple and pious tillers of the soil, and from which emanated the ideal of that polity of husbandmen with hereditary lots and a year of jubilee ascribed by its framers to the great lawgiver of the race. But the trading instinct was too strong. In the stories of the patriarch who bought the birthright of his hungry brother

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for a mess of pottage, of the Jewish vizier who taught Pharaoh how to obtain the surrender of all the freeholds of his people by taking advantage of the famine, and of the Hebrews who spoiled the Egyptians by pretending to borrow jewels which they meant never to return, we see the gleamings of a character which was not likely to be content with the moderate gains of a small farming community.

The bond of Judaism and the sustaining cause of Jewish isolation has been the Talmud, a vast collection of legalism, ceremonialism, and casuistry, destined by its minute observances to preserve the purity of the Jew and keep him apart from the impure Gentile. Without this, and the authority of the rabbins based on it, he would probably have in time become as other men and blended with the nations in which he sojourned. Circumcision, above all, the seal of tribalism, perpetuates his isolation. Jerusalem, though lost, and though even the desire of returning to it must have become very faint, acts like the Mohammedan's Caaba as a point for prayer, while the vague hope of a Messiah and of universal dominion helps to sustain the pride and exclusiveness of the tribe. The Mosaic Sabbath and the retention of the Hebrew as a sacred language have completed the barrier of separation. The supposed purity of the race is denied by Renan, who believes that in the earlier wanderings of the Hebrews among the nations of the ancient world mixed elements were taken up. M. Leroy-Beaulieu appears to be of the same opinion.

Jewish exclusiveness would be aggravated by Christian and feudal intolerance; but it is unjust to charge Christendom or feudalism with having impressed upon the Jew an unsocial character, which had already been painted by Roman satire, and had brought the Jew into collision with the communities of the ancient world. However high or rare the gifts of a race may be, if it goes among other races for the purpose of absorbing their wealth by its financial practices, at the same time maintaining its tribal isolation, treating the rest of the community as unclean, refusing to intermarry or to eat with them, and—what is more—dealing with them on the principles of a tribal morality, its unpopularity is a certain consequence. To hold the Jew wholly irresponsible for the evils of an unhappy relation, you must frame an indictment against human nature and mankind.

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It is impossible that the expulsion of a multitude of people from the land which has long been their home should not be horrible and heartrending, even though we may suspend our belief as to the gratuitous and fiendish atrocities of which the Russian Government and people are accused. The soul of the civilized world may well be moved by the sight. But the war which we witness is one not of religions, but of races brought by the peculiar tendencies of one of them into relations out of which a conflict was sure sooner or later to arise. The Jew fights with intelligence, while the Russian or Rumanian fights with force; but this alone is not decisive in favor of the Jew.

The dislike of the Jew and the desire to be rid of him have received a strong impulse, as has been truly said, from that reviving spirit of nationalism which, dating from the rising of the nations against Napoleon, has been fostered by the school of history of which Augustin Thierry was a model, and is showing itself not only in Russia, Germany, Hungary, and Bohemia, but in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The Jew is now detested not only because he absorbs the national wealth, but because, when present in numbers, he eats out the core of nationality. It is true that all nations are more or less composed of mixed races and have in them, perhaps, some even of the cave-dwellers' blood; but then the other elements amalgamate and the result is a nation, with which the tribal Jew does not blend. This is not the place for discussing the question between the nation and humanity; but the tribe, of which Judaism is a survival, is narrower, not broader, than the nation.

Our view of the Jewish question has been hitherto distorted by our theology. On the one hand, the Jew has been absurdly and cruelly held responsible for the death of Christ. On the other, we have accepted the belief that the Jews are a favored race, that the Father of all, like tribal gods, such as Zeus, Brahma, or Wodin, selected a particular tribe, made a covenant with it, and pledged himself, so long as it would serve him, to promote its interests against those of his other children; that for it he slew all the innocent first-born of Egypt, besides sending a series of horrible plagues upon the helpless subjects of Pharaoh; that he commissioned it to invade the country of people who had done it no wrong, and to put them and their wives and children to the sword; and that he stopped the sun in heaven to

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enable it to slaughter its flying enemies. We have persisted in reading for edification the account of the slaying of Sisera, and that story of blood over which Jewish tribalism still fiercely exults in its great feast of Purim, including the hanging of Haman's ten sons at the instance of a vindictive Jewess. This we do in the face of the gospel declaration that God made all races of men of one blood to dwell together on the earth. Rational criticism is now happily setting us free and teaching us that the parts of the Old Testament fit for religious use are those which are spiritual and not tribal, such as the higher prophets and most of the Psalms. But we are still in the penumbra of superstition.

A preacher has been heard to say that "a Jew would judge the world." Jesus was a native of the province in which the population was most mixed, and from which, as Pharisaic tribalism thought, no good could come. He called himself the son of man. To Talmudic Judaism his religion, of which the soul is the spontaneity of conscience, forms the most perfect contrast, while it develops and exalts the spiritualism of the prophets and the later school of Hillel. To Talmudic Judaism Christianity has no affinity and owes no debt whatever. The contrast is scarcely less strong between Talmudic Judaism and the philosophic Judaism of the Alexandrian Philo.

In western Europe and in the United States the Jews are comparatively few and scattered; the assimilating forces of an active-minded and highly-educated society are strong; and the integument of Talmudic ice, exposed at once to the rays of an intellectual civilization and to the warm breath of religious equality, has to a great extent given way. The Hebrew has been in part, as his sympathizing friend M. Leroy-Beaulieu tells him he will have to be, "derabbinized and denationalized." Derabbinized he has been so far that the other day some Jews recognized the beneficent character and teaching of Christ, which is certainly a wide departure from the sentiments of the *Toldoth Jesu*. His religion, where he is most derabbinized, appears to be simply theism, with more or less of a lingering conviction that some special mission is reserved by Providence for his race. But it differs from Christian theism. The God of the Jews is one who rewards or punishes, blesses or curses, in this life: worldly prosperity is the sign of his favor; worldly adversity of his wrath. The

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Jew pursues present good. As Spinoza says, *Sapientia ejus in vitâ, non in morte est.* He has always been utterly averse from asceticism, the underlying idea of which is the sacrifice of present to future happiness. Self-mortification, like that of a Roman Catholic saint, has, of course, been entirely repugnant to him; but he also practically rejects the belief common to Christians that the present world is evil and that we must look for our real happiness in another. Such, at least, we gather to be the frame of mind of the more liberal Jew, who in this respect falls in with the practical creed of the agnostic. He seems also on the point of relinquishing his separate Sabbath. He eats and drinks with his Gentile fellow-citizens, nor does he refuse intermarriage with them, though it still seems to go somewhat against the grain, and the marriage of a great Jewish heiress with an English nobleman was understood to be an event far from welcome to the financiers of her tribe. If some of the precepts of the Talmud are still observed by the liberal Jew, it is on sanitary rather than on religious grounds. Among the intellectual Jews of the West there appear to be non-sectarian divisions which, as the isolation of Israel depends on its unity, may be the heralds of social amalgamation.

The derabbinization is far advanced, but the denationalization will not be complete, or anything like complete, till the Jew gives up the tribal rite of circumcision, which must always carry with it tribal sentiment and a feeling of separation from the rest of mankind. The intense love of gain and the addiction to the money trade are ingrained, and it is probable that many generations will pass before the balance of the Hebrew intellect and character is restored by a community of pursuits with other men. Whether any of the tribal morality, the presence of which in the Talmud cannot be denied, still lingers in the mercantile dealings of the Jew, those who are brought into commercial relations with him must decide. He is—indeed, he has always and everywhere been—a conforming citizen, and has refused none of the burdens of the state, though he has made them as light as he could. He adopts also the language of the country in which he lives, reserving that of Judea for the interior of the synagogue. But he changes his country more easily than others. When the Southern Confederacy fell, its leaders generally stood by the wreck and did their best for those whom they had led; but Judah Benjamin went off to pastures new.

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It is also with a certain air of exploitation, the attitude of the cosmopolitan trader, that the genuine Jew takes up any political cause or party. It is impossible that a man should be heartily loyal to two nationalities at once; and so long as a trace of Jewish nationality remains the Jew cannot be a thorough Englishman or American. In fact, when a Jewish question arises in any part of the world, we are made to feel that there is a Jewish interest apart from that of the several nations in which the Jews have their abode. England was made to feel this in her disputes with Russia, and France was made to feel it in the Tunisian expedition. Light, however, would be thrown on this part of the matter if some Jewish authority would tell us distinctly what relation Jewish nationality or the tie of Jewish race bears to the nationality of the country in which the Jew happens to dwell.

The Jew of America and western Europe has not much reason to complain of his present position. In a society of which wealth is the ruling power, his financial skill, sharpened by immemorial practice and aided by the confederacy of his kinsmen, makes him the master of wealth. In Europe patrician pride bows its head before him, and royalty itself is at his feet. The press is rapidly falling under his influence, and becoming the organ of his interests and his enmities. If any hearts still rebel against an ascendency of the stock exchange and a worship of material success in its least beneficent form, they are so few that they need not be taken into account. Here, in the West, we have no cruel and desperate problem before us. We must allow existing influences to work on, taking care, perhaps, to guard ourselves against commercial combinations, and to look now and then behind the curtain of the press.

It is in eastern Europe and in Russia, where the Jews are massed and where they are still thoroughly Talmudic, that the trouble arises, and the end of it does not seem near. If the quarrel were religious, the preaching of religious toleration might allay it; but we have seen that it is not religious, but economic, social, and national. What the peasant wants is not that Jews should be forcibly converted or that they should be prevented from worshipping in their own synagogues after their own fashion, but that he shall be freed from alien usury and domination. He would hardly desire anything so cruel as the expulsion of the Jews from the land which has long been their home, if it were possi-

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ble that their habits and bearing should be changed. But it is not likely that the yoke of the Jew will become less galling, or that the sufferance of the people will increase. Nor are the dense swarms of Russian or Rumanian Jews likely soon to be "derabbinized and denationalized," or to give up their immemorial trades. What will be the result in eastern Europe generally depends on a balance of forces which we have no means of correctly estimating. The governments generally are on the side of the Jew. To repress rioting and maintain order is their duty; while, in the financial state to which they have reduced themselves by their rivalry in military expenditure, they cannot afford to provoke the ire of the money power. The balance of policy inclines the same way. Nihilism is supposed to be partly recruited from the Jews, and their influx into London has been followed, it seems, by a strange development of the low socialistic press; but the notion that the disciples of the Talmud had anything to do with the French Revolution is too absurd for discussion: the party of the prosperous Jew is the party of wealth, and as a rule he is conservative. The Russian Government alone, being intensely national and very uncommercial, takes decidedly the part of its own people. The thanks of all nations will be due to Baron Hirsch, or any other philanthropist, who can find the solution of a problem which now for two thousand years has formed not the least calamitous and piteous part of the annals of humanity.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

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THE VALUE OF NAVAL MANŒUVRES.

BY THE HON. JAMES R. SOLEY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

THE real purpose of a navy is to provide the state that maintains it with a certain necessary element of military strength. Its value as a part of governmental machinery must be finally measured by its fighting efficiency. If it has this quality, it answers the primary condition of its existence. If it has it not, it is not worth the expense of keeping up. The necessity of maintaining a force in any given state depends somewhat upon the ability of the state to avoid international disputes. But no state with vulnerable points,—namely, a commercial marine, an extensive coast line, and populous seaport cities,—can afford to be without a war navy, unless, by some method hitherto unknown to international politics, it can secure an immunity from controversy. The only substitute for such a method lies in the maintenance of a force efficient enough to make an assault upon its rights an expensive and serious business.

As fighting efficiency is the real test of the value of a navy, the most important occupation of its officers in peace is to prepare the force for those occasional but momentous crises in which it is called upon to perform its part in the national defence. In the old days of sailing-vessels this business of training was comparatively easy. The manœuvring of a ship under sail, the control and direction of a ship's company, the firing of a broadside so as to hit the mark, and, finally, the management of a squadron in accordance with certain simple tactical rules, comprised the whole mystery of the profession. In the complete preparation of officers and men for the crises of battle, the only additional requirements were the practice of the virtues of courage, obedience, and tenacity. Even ordinary sea-training was often wanting. In the time of Blake and Prince Rupert the

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English fleets were commanded and fought by soldiers rather than sailors, and it was only at the end of the seventeenth century that officers of the school of Benbow, with accomplishments distinctly nautical, resumed their place in the front ranks of the service. Down to the early part of the present century the sum total of necessary professional knowledge was exceedingly slight and simple.

Since the year 1840 the character of the naval profession in this respect has completely changed. Not only has the introduction of steam as a motive power made the ship an immense piece of complicated machinery, but a great variety of contrivances, in the shape of new weapons, means of defence, torpedo outfits, appliances for lighting, for steering and manœuvring, for signals, for pointing and firing guns, and for other purposes, have called into play nearly every branch of physical and mechanical science, and made a knowledge of these branches a necessity. The marine engine, the ram, the rifled gun, the machine gun, the dynamo, the higher explosives, armor, and torpedoes have increased enormously the variety and complexity of naval operations. Commerce-destroying in fast steamers has been reduced to a science. Blockades, which in the old days any fairly good seaman was competent to maintain, have now become a difficult and intricate problem. Operations on rivers and inland waters, which formed so large a part of the work of the navy during the Civil War, present questions of exceptional interest and difficulty. The science of torpedo attack and defence under all the various circumstances which lend themselves to the use of this novel weapon has opened out a new art of war, whose ultimate developments no man can foresee or calculate. The success which has attended the employment of sailors as land troops upon certain occasions demonstrates that a navy must now have an organization elastic enough to meet the demands of this branch of service. Ascending from these special questions into the higher field of grand tactics or strategy, the properly-trained officer must know intimately the offensive and defensive capacity of vessels, not, as formerly, of half a dozen well-defined types, but of every variety of armament and structure; he must evolve methods of operating against and of protecting a coast; he must ascertain the proper distribution of naval resources; he must consider the question of the provision of a coal supply; the value of speed as a factor in warfare in gen-

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eral, as well as in the force of any given ship; the best points for attack or defence,—all of them questions involving close study and observation, as well as experience.

While the navy is always presumably occupied in preparation for war, its activity may be exerted in two distinct directions. The incessant international competition in the development of naval material makes it necessary for the organization to devote its energies quite as much to keeping the instruments of war in an advanced stage of progress as to being able to use the materials to advantage when they have been obtained. The naval officer has, therefore, two objects before him: he must perform his part in contributing to the mechanical progress of the navy, and he must be able to fight when the occasion comes. Until within a period comparatively recent, the tendency has been to turn most in the first of these directions, because it represented the matter in hand, the thing obviously to be done, promising immediate results in a conspicuous form. The result has shown itself in the enormous strides made since the beginning of naval reconstruction, in 1882. Now, however, when the new ships are becoming available for service, the time has come to train the navy in using them as fighting weapons. Without such a system of special training the government might find itself in the position of having a first-class fleet which was almost useless through a failure to educate officers in the conditions of actual war. They would know the workshop, but not the field of battle. Nor would the customary alternations of shore and sea service remove the difficulty. Officers whose experience was thus limited might become experts in ordinary cruising, but ordinary cruising is not war, nor will it take the place of the training which modern war requires.

Fighting capacity is largely a matter of aptitude; and in the acquisition of it, as of any other aptitude involving moral and physical qualities, individuals differ greatly. Some men acquire a knack by intuition; they become riders as soon as they jump into the saddle, as they become good shots or expert anglers the moment a gun or a rod is placed in their hands. Others accomplish the same results only after long and troublesome effort. Such men may attain facility through experience; and when men are endowed with a fair amount of nervous energy, experience that is sufficiently varied and continuous can almost be made to take the place of an instinct. The most effectual way of giving

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this experience to a naval force is in actual war. It makes the difference between the veteran and the raw recruit. But as we cannot have a war in every decade for the sake of gaining experience, some substitute must be provided which shall contribute as far as possible to making veterans of our officers and men.

To accomplish this requires a double process. In the first place, the officer must familiarize himself with the details of modern naval operations. Until lately not much attention has been given to this subject. In fact, it is only within a short time that naval strategy as a distinct science has been made the subject of systematic study. The experience of our navy in the Civil War was of the most comprehensive, long-continued, and varied character, and was the first in which operations had been conducted on a great scale since the revolution in naval science. Other naval wars, not so extensive, but equally instructive, from the fact that they made use of more modern apparatus, have taken place since then; and the publications of the Office of Naval Intelligence and the lectures of the Naval War College, both of which were begun at a moment when naval reconstruction had just made a fresh start, mark a new stage in the development of this branch of naval training.

The second, and by far the most important, essential in the preparation of naval officers for war is practice with the tools of their profession—and, be it remembered, these must be modern tools or the practice is useless—in operations carried on as nearly as may be under the conditions of actual war. Of course practice of this kind has its limitations. It is not possible, for instance, in a sham fight to be firing shot and shell; and therefore the killing and wounding which form such an essential feature of actual war are eliminated. Learning to stand fire is a lesson that cannot be taught in perfection by anything short of a *bonâ-fide* battle. Discipline and the cultivation of a high *morale* will help to secure it, and in a general way sham engagements may contribute to the same end, by familiarizing officers and men with the conditions under which the dangers of combat will be faced; but this is not their main purpose. Nor will they serve the purpose of a gunnery test, for the obvious reason that you cannot use one-half of your own ships and people as a target for the other half. This practice must be obtained by other methods, which, however, are sufficiently easy of application. In the use of torpedoes,

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again, the sham fight has a restricted scope, although it is possible to measure results with a fair degree of accuracy by artificial tests without actually blowing up an occasional ironclad; and much the same may be said in regard to the ram.

These limitations, however, are all that distinguish the process of mimic war from real war; and essential as the difference may be in its effect on the feelings of the participants, it cannot destroy the value of the first as a practical training for the second. In the first place, the whole organization is put to the test of conducting an actual campaign. The mere matter of mobilization, which in former times was comparatively simple and unimportant, has come to be of extreme difficulty, and at the same time of enormous consequence, when the first three weeks may determine the issue of a war. To see the condition of a navy which has been ten or a dozen years at peace, and during that time has had no practice in rapid mobilization, we have only to look at our experience in 1861, when it took us eight months to gain a mere foothold upon four thousand miles of unprotected coast belonging to an enemy absolutely destitute of maritime resources.

When the squadrons are once mobilized, and the practice manœuvres reach the stage of a campaign with two hostile forces arrayed against each other and engaged in working out a specific problem of war under given conditions, there is hardly any point in the whole range of naval operations that will not receive attention and observation. Each of these makes demands upon officers and men identical with those of actual war, barring always the presence of danger, and calls for the same alertness of judgment, the same untiring energy, the same ready resource, the same quickness of eye and clearness of intelligence.

The value of sham battles, or war manœuvres, as they may be more properly called, is well understood by the most progressive maritime states, and in the navies of these states they have become a regular feature of the yearly administrative programme. The operations conducted in this way by the English, French, Italian, and German governments during the last few years are full of interest and instruction, and illustrate perfectly the advantages and the limitations of this sort of practice. To see exactly how the work is done it may be well to look at some of these a little in detail, and especially at those of the British in recent summers, which were carefully planned with a view

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to elucidating the problems of naval strategy likely to arise when Great Britain is at war.

In the manœuvres of 1887 several successive operations were arranged, the principal scene of which was in the Channel. In the prescribed conditions it was supposed that an ironclad squadron of defence, commanded by Sir William Hewett, had lost touch of an enemy's squadron, under Rear-Admiral Fremantle, of nearly equal force, which was seeking to make a descent upon some point along the Channel coast, but at the same time to avoid an engagement with the defenders. The two squadrons consisted each of five battle-ships, with two fast cruisers as scouts. Under the rules governing the contest, ten hours of uninterrupted possession of the entrance to a seaport were held to be equivalent to an occupation.

Admiral Hewett's business was to prevent the enemy's threatened occupation. He could not tell where the blow would be struck, and his force was accordingly arranged between Portland and Cape La Hague, stretching out to the westward. This left unprotected the important town of Falmouth, but as it was only about 100 miles west of the line of defence, and as extensive arrangements had been made for telegraphing, it seemed fairly well covered. Nevertheless, the enemy's squadron, under Admiral Fremantle, steered directly for Falmouth and succeeded in maintaining its position there for ten hours of daylight. Its scout vessel, the "Archer," was sent to the eastward, skilfully disguised, and kept up communication with the squadron through an intermediate scout. Admiral Hewett learned that Fremantle was approaching Falmouth, but the information, though telegraphed from the Lizard, was nearly five hours in reaching him, and it was then so uncertain that he waited four hours more for further news. By the time he was well under way for Falmouth, Fremantle had departed, and the latter's scouts, still disguised, watched the squadron of defence on its way to the westward.

Fremantle now had the coast clear and passed up the Channel. When Hewitt discovered that the enemy had given him the slip, he retraced his course with all speed. He could not discover the exact position of the assailants, but he knew that they had several hours' start, and the campaign now became an exciting pursuit up the Channel. In this operation three of the pursuers broke

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down. Admiral Fremantle was therefore still well in advance. At night he was going through the narrowest part of the Channel. This point was defended by a flotilla, composed of an armored coast-defence ship and several gunboats and torpedo-boats. In a real war he would probably have destroyed the flotilla, but it would have involved a delay of two hours or more. Disposing of these antagonists in a rather abridged engagement, he moved on to the northward and came to anchor at the mouth of the Thames. Only two of the requisite ten hours had elapsed when the squadron of Admiral Hewett came up with him. Fremantle then stood to the northward to pass out into the North Sea through the East Swin Channel. Hewett, still in pursuit, steamed through a parallel channel called the Black Deep, which was separated from the Swin by a shoal, and which was too narrow to permit ships to turn. Taking advantage of this fact, and of the state of the tide, Admiral Fremantle conceived the brilliant idea of turning himself up the Thames, crossing the shoals as the tide was ebbing, and leaving his pursuers to continue on their way to the end of the Black Deep, where their pursuit was further delayed by the fall of the tide. It was finally decided by the umpires that the attacking squadron was captured in the Thames. But there is no doubt that in actual war it would have had a good chance of escape, and it had already inflicted irreparable injury upon the enemy.

This series of manœuvres, which occupied ten battle-ships, with a number of subsidiary craft, for four days, was full of important lessons, not only for the general direction of the Admiralty, but for every officer and man of the squadrons. It threw new light on the problem to be solved in the defence of the English coast. It indicated precisely where the arrangements for securing information were defective—a point of the highest importance where the game was not so much one of heavy blows as of making successful efforts to elude. It showed the necessity of lightly-armed and swift vessels to serve as scouts or outposts for the main body, and that the possession of two such scouts would not answer the purpose. At the outset each commander exercised his ingenuity in deceiving the other, and each endeavored, according to his lights, to ascertain his opponent's plans. Admiral Hewett left Falmouth uncovered, fearing that the enemy

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might pass Cape La Hague without his knowledge ; in which case all the approach to the eastward would have been unprotected. The enemy took advantage of this, and so got possession of Falmouth. A little more promptness in the service of information would perhaps have shortened his stay there. The practice gained by the lookout vessels was of immense value. The captains of such ships must rely largely upon their own judgment. No orders can be given that will exactly cover the situation in which they are placed. So, too, with all the other incidental features of the campaign. The trials of speed, the repair of breakdowns in machinery, the utilizing of makeshifts to accomplish a result with imperfect or damaged materials, the methods of approach of torpedo-boats, and the precautions necessary to keep them off—all these were sooner or later brought into play, and called for prompt decision and action from each commander and each ship's company.

The naval manœuvres of 1888 were conducted upon a much more extensive scale, and accomplished proportionately greater results. The plan of the Admiralty contemplated the rapid mobilization of a great naval force for a war of four weeks' duration upon the English coast. A great maritime power, christened for the occasion by the name of "Achill," whose geographical locus, for strategic purposes, is Ireland, is supposed to fit out two squadrons, which are lying in port in expectation of a war with England. Sir George Tryon, the Achill commander-in-chief, with five battle-ships, is at Berehaven, in Bantry Bay, on the southwestern coast of Ireland, or Achill, and Admiral Fitz Roy, his second in command, with four, at Lough Swilly, on the northern coast. Each squadron has also five cruisers. Before these squadrons can complete their preparations war breaks out, and two powerful British squadrons—one under Vice-Admiral Baird, with seven battle-ships and seven cruisers ; the other under Rear-Admiral Rowley, with six battle-ships and six cruisers—blockade the Achill forces in their respective ports, both of which are supposed to be strongly fortified. Each side has, in addition, twelve torpedo-boats. War is declared by telegram July 24, and is announced to close August 20.

This being the condition of affairs at the outbreak of the war, the obvious plan of operation of the Achill squadrons was to break the blockade with a part of their forces, and, while the blockaders

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were still occupied with the remainder, to start on a cruise of devastation against British commerce and seaports, of course excluding Ireland, which was Achill territory. In order that the escape of the Achill ships might not take place too early and thus defeat one of the main objects of the manœuvres, namely, to obtain practice in blockading, Tryon and Fitz Roy were privately instructed that no ship was to go out, in any case, before the 2d of August. The first ten days were therefore taken up in slight encounters by day and brisk attacks by the blockaded torpedo-boats at night, which gave the blockaders incessant harassing occupation, as they were ignorant of the fact that no attempt would be made to escape. The attacks were far from being mere feints; and in one of them the "Inconstant," of the blockading fleet, was torpedoed (in imagination). Certain of the torpedo-boats on one side or the other were also put out of action.

As soon as the prescribed time was up, the Achill commanders did not lose a moment in breaking away. On the night of the 3d, at Berehaven, simultaneous movements were made by nine of the blockaded ships in different parts of the harbor. The "Archer," of the British fleet, was guarding one of the entrances, and, while she was attacked by four torpedo-boats so smartly as to engross her attention, the enemy's ships "Warspite," "Iris," and "Severn" steamed along close to the high land at full speed and with all lights out, and so managed to pass the blockade unobserved. As soon as Baird learned that these three were at large, he apparently gave up all thought of maintaining any further blockade, or even of attempting a general defence of the coast. "Save London" was the one idea in his mind, and to this he bent all his energies. Orders were sent to Rowley to raise the blockade of Lough Swilly and join with his squadron at Luce Bay, off the Scottish coast, and thither Baird himself proceeded. The two squadrons met at midnight on the 5th. Rowley was obliged to report a similar failure in his blockade, for already on the night of the 2d, the first after the restriction had been removed, the Achill cruiser "Calypso" had stolen out of Lough Swilly unobserved, and on the 4th Fitz Roy himself, with the "Rodney," "Amphion," and "Spider," had followed—a fact which, as the official narrative tersely puts it, "the British admiral knew nothing of till the next morning."

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The situation was now critical. Seven Achill vessels, two of them battle-ships, had escaped, and the British admiral had not the faintest clew to their projected movements. They would undoubtedly ravage the coast of Great Britain, and they had a start of from one to four days; but where would they strike their first blow? Unable to answer this question, Admiral Baird was confirmed in his decision that, as he could not protect all points, he would at least make that secure where there was most to lose, and set out for London, via the Channel. On the 6th he dropped Rowley's division off Holyhead, to watch Liverpool from that point, and proceeded alone; but the next day, learning that Fitz Roy, with his two ironclads, had been sighted to the north of Scotland, he telegraphed Rowley to rejoin him. The latter complied, leaving two ironclads, the "Neptune" and "Belleisle," for the defence of Liverpool. This was on the 7th, but the two squadrons, delayed by fog and by the necessity of stopping for coal, did not unite in the Downs until the 12th.

Meantime the seven Achill vessels which had made their escape had entered upon an active career of supposititious devastation. The "Calypso," which had been the first to get out,—on the 2d of August,—started on an independent roving cruise. First she ran into Port Ellen, a telegraph station of Baird's squadron, where she captured one of his torpedo-boats and destroyed three steamers and the coal stores. Thence she hastened to Oban, where she remained during the night of the 3d, in which she requisitioned the town and captured a one-gun battery and several more steamers. For the next fortnight she cruised in the track of British commerce, and in that time captured 60,000 tons of shipping. Finally she put into Penzance, where she captured the coast-guard station.

Of the three vessels that left Lough Swilly on the 4th, the "Amphion" cruised undisturbed in the Channel, capturing much shipping. Another, the "Spider," devoted her attention to the west coast of Scotland, and in the course of three days carried the war to every accessible point in that neighborhood. At Campbelltown 5,000 tons of shipping were destroyed; at Rothesay five steamers were sunk; while at Greenock the shipping in the Clyde, amounting to 32,000 tons, was annihilated, and the public buildings on the quay were pulverized by the cruiser's fire. Thence she proceeded northward, inflicting like havoc wherever she went.

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The third of the Lough Swilly fugitives, the battle-ship "Rodney," with Admiral Fitz Roy on board, met the three vessels from Berehaven, the "Warspite," "Iris," and "Severn," at a preconcerted rendezvous, two nights after their escape, and the new flying squadron, doubling the northern end of Scotland, pounced upon Aberdeen at daybreak of the 7th. A requisition of £400,000 was levied on the town and all the shipping was destroyed. Moving rapidly down the coast, Fitz Roy carried out a similar programme successively at Edinburgh (Leith), Shields, Newcastle, Hartlepool, Scarborough, and Grimsby. After bagging £5,000,000 in requisitions, levying extensive contributions of coal and provisions, and destroying immense quantities of unprotected shipping, Fitz Roy retraced his course, and on the 12th of August returned triumphantly to Lough Swilly without having met, since his escape eight days before, a single one of the thirty-six vessels of the squadron of defence, whether armor-clad, cruiser, or torpedo-boat.

Meanwhile, the blockade having been raised, the two Achill squadrons had effected a junction at Lough Swilly, and on the 8th Sir George Tryon sailed with five battle-ships to attack Liverpool. It will be remembered that only the "Neptune" and "Belleisle" had been left to defend this port, only second to London in importance. When Tryon's column came in sight, the "Neptune" was cruising off the bar, and wisely took to her heels. The unfortunate "Belleisle," however, was caught at anchor while taking on coal, and after a short conflict hauled down her colors. The town was then heavily requisitioned and the shipping destroyed. After "rummaging" the port of Holyhead, the Achill squadron returned to Lough Swilly, where it was joined, as already stated, on the 12th, by Admiral Fitz Roy's vessels.

The remainder of the war presented no striking incidents. The Achill squadron was compelled to use up four days in coaling, the great stumbling-block in all modern naval operations, and at the end of that time sailed for the Channel. Baird was still in the Downs, covering the mouth of the Thames, from which he dared not move. Some of the Achill vessels were engaged in commerce-destroying cruises, but the main force was moving unresisted up the Channel, when peace was declared on the 20th of August.

The manœuvres of 1888 had the effect of pointing out with great clearness certain elements of strategic weakness in the arrange-

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ments for the national defence. The results accomplished by the Achillese, in their imaginary requisitions, captures, and conflagrations, were sufficiently alarming, even when stripped of all sensational exaggeration. No war ministry could survive the commercial panic that such a catalogue of disasters would produce. The manœuvres also served to discover several serious defects in organization and equipment, which had until then passed unnoticed. But their most important effect was to work into coherent unity, during four weeks of the most active service, whatever was heterogeneous in the organization of the fleet, and, by narrowing action down to a definite object, to give point and purpose to what would otherwise be a mere routine exercise. It is in this way as much as in any other that manœuvres are superior to ordinary drill.

Here was a force of officers and men, larger than the whole United States Navy, engaged in operations which, apart from the element of personal danger, were identical in all their minute details with those of real war. The disposition of the blockaded squadrons to ward off attack, and of the blockaders to prevent egress, was exactly the same that their commanders would have employed against a real enemy. They were the best that each could devise according to his judgment. The maintenance of communication between scouts and the main body of the fleet, the coaling of vessels at sea, the discovery of an enemy's plans and movements, the conveyance of information to ships and forts by signals, all the thousand-and-one minutiæ upon the proper observance of which by individuals so much depends in naval operations, were carried out with the same exacting precision that a war would call for. In torpedo attacks the assailants had to gauge their speed and judge their aim and distance, while the defenders needed all their quickness of eye and of hand to discover their opponents and bring to bear their rapid-fire guns. It was drill, no doubt, but drill with a definite purpose, under the unforeseen and unforeseeable conditions of battle, and with all the rivalry of contest, if not of combat, superadded.

The manœuvres of 1889 were carried out on a scale quite as large as those of the previous year, and included fifty ships and gunboats and thirty-eight torpedo-boats. All these were present at the inspection at Spithead, in addition to the Channel Squad-

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ron and other vessels in commission, to the number of seventy-three in all. The mimic war lasted two weeks, from the 15th to the 27th of August, and Ireland was again the enemy's country. Tryon and Baird were still the opposing commanders, but this time Tryon took the British side, and Baird that of the enemy.

Instead of attempting to neutralize the enemy's fleet by a blockade, which the experience of 1888 had shown to be futile, the plan of the British defence was to "mask" the enemy's fleet; that is, to take and hold a strategic position in face of it, altering this position as circumstances required, and thereby interposing a perpetual barrier against attack from whatever quarter. The result showed the immense advantages of this plan over the other.

The defending fleet was near its own base, not only of supplies, but, what was of greater importance, of information. The defects of the intelligence service of previous years were remedied by a telegraphic system comprising eight local centres on the coast, connecting with the main centre at the Admiralty, by means of which any vessel moving within the range of an observer's view at any point on the coast was instantly reported in London; and the fact was with almost equal promptness conveyed to the commander-in-chief.

Two principal attempts were made by the enemy, one to pass up the Channel, the other to assail the Scotch and English coast from the North Sea. The first of these, which had London for its objective point, was a failure, and resulted in the capture by the British of two of the assailants' ships, after a warm and protracted engagement. Admiral Baird was severely criticised for the plan of this attack, and with good reason, for he had several fine strategic openings, all of which he neglected or rejected, to carry out a plan of attack too obvious to deceive, too deliberate to surprise, and too feeble to accomplish its purpose by sheer weight of blows.

The other attempt—a raid on the eastern coast by ships passing around the north of Scotland—was somewhat like Fitz Roy's attack of the year before, and wrought equal havoc upon the seaport towns, the squadron exacting heavy ransoms as the price of immunity. The perfected system of conveying intelligence, however, enabled the defending fleet to meet the attack more promptly, and the result was that the raiders left two of their best ships

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in the British hands. The fact that they had secured £3,000,000 in "requisitions" from Edinburgh and the other towns on the coast would not make up wholly for the loss of the vessels at a turning-point in the war, when ships were worth far more than money.

The losses of British commerce, notwithstanding the adoption of stricter rules governing detention and capture of prizes, were enormous, amounting to 170,000 tons. The fact was clearly demonstrated that more effectual measures must be taken in case of a war with a maritime power, if Great Britain would seek to defend her commerce at her own doors. Sir George Tryon needed all his cruisers to serve as lookouts and obtain information. He had none to spare for the protection of merchant vessels. Of course the latter made no particular effort to escape from their supposed antagonists; in fact, they carried on their usual occupations on their usual routes precisely as if no war were in progress. But even allowing that one-half of those captured by Baird's cruisers might have made good their escape, the destruction of the remaining half, amounting to 85,000 tons, in two weeks, would have an effect, in actual war, upon marine insurance, freights, the food supply, and the movement of trade in the United Kingdom, that would, unless speedily checked, bring on a colossal financial disaster and go far to put an end to the war.

The general effect of the third series of manœuvres was similar to that of the first two, but in a higher degree. Many of the defects in reference to mobilization, coal supply, information, training of officers and men, and other points, which the earlier attempts had developed, were in a large part corrected. The whole machinery of the Admiralty organization was put to the test of practical working, and a large proportion of the officers and men of the navy got that kind of practical experience which, though it cannot be said to make veterans, gives a familiar insight into the duties that devolve upon naval forces in actual war.

The advantage which the English navy has derived from its manœuvres is conceded on all hands, and the question naturally arises, In what way can our own navy get a similar training? Until a recent period it was in vain to ask the question, for the navy had no ships in which manœuvres of any kind could be attempted. But the time is now not far distant when it will have a sufficient number of modern vessels to enable it to make a be-

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ginning, and the work of reconstruction will continue until we have a respectable fleet. Meantime we must labor with what we have. Provision has already been made for pursuing the study of naval strategy as a science : it will only remain, as soon as a sufficient number of modern ships are available, to put the study into practice. For some time to come any manœuvres would necessarily be on a small scale ; they would be measured by the capacity of the fleet. As the fleet reaches its normal standard, their scope could be proportionately enlarged, and they would then become what they are to-day in the more efficient foreign navies—the most important event in the yearly programme of operations.

To say at the present time that this study and practice are beneficial to a navy is mere commonplace : they are absolutely indispensable. A force that drags along a merely routine existence without them is behind the times, and under the pressure of war would be heavily handicapped. It makes little difference what the system of training is called,—a war college or a school of application for the study of the history and principles of strategy, a series of "sham battles" or naval manœuvres, or evolutions for practice,—but under some name or other, and in some vitalized and practical way, a navy must get its training in *war*. The old theory of squadron-cruising, in accordance with which a large force was maintained upon each of several foreign stations, where it lay for a great part of the time in port, and during the remainder cruised aimlessly about, is a thing of the past. Some force undoubtedly must continue to be maintained at certain points at all times, but the true place for a naval force in time of peace is in the waters that wash the shores of its own country. It is here that it should gain the practice that will enable it successfully to defend these shores when they are attacked. It is here that opportunities may be given to coöperate with and train the naval militia of the States, which is certain to become, in the near future, a highly important element in naval defence. It may be added, as an incidental advantage, that it is among its own people that the appropriations for the maintenance of the service can best be expended. For these purposes the true organization is a squadron of evolution, engaged, under conditions copied closely from those of real war, in the actual solution of the problems to which war

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would give rise—problems in fleet operations, in blockading and in evading a blockade, in torpedo attack and defence, in the attack and protection of harbors, in chasing and escaping from a chase, in coaling, ruses, learning the plans and movements of an enemy, landing parties, commerce-destroying—the innumerable details of modern naval campaigns towards which all the ordinary peace cruising in the world will furnish no experience.

That Americans have as good a natural fighting capacity as any other people in the world was amply shown in the Civil War. But for success in war against trained enemies they must also have training. The landing of Paul Jones at Whitehaven—the only invasion of English territory in modern times—was brilliantly conceived and boldly executed by an American naval force; but it proved a failure, solely because Jones and his people were imperfectly trained in this sort of work. The war of 1812 was a succession of conspicuous victories at sea, and equally conspicuous disasters on land; and here again the reason for the difference lay in the thorough professional training of one branch and the total absence of training in the other. The real hero of the great naval war was not Hull or Decatur or Macdonough, or any of the others who won its victories. It was Edward Preble, who, in the lesser war with Tripoli ten years before, had formed the men, almost without exception, by whom the later victories were won. The navy that we require to defend our coast to-day is a navy composed, like that of 1812, first of all of Americans, of men imbued with the national sentiment, and, secondly, of men who have been thoroughly trained to their business. Given such a force, with modern ships and weapons, and enough of them, and the maritime defence of the United States will cease to be a doubtful and disturbing question.

JAMES R. SOLEY.

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VAMPIRE LITERATURE.

BY ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

Not long ago a very fashionably-attired young woman called at the office of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice and asked to see the writer. She wanted to know if it was against the law to publish a "spicy book." I looked at her in amazement, as she was young, of slight form and very intelligent appearance, when, with perfect *sang froid*, she informed me that she was an actress and had written a "peculiar book," which she unblushingly described, to bring her name prominently before the public. She had taken her manuscript to a publisher, who, after looking it over, had advised her to submit it to our society. She then inquired if I would promise not to touch the book if she could secure a publisher for it.

Being informed that such a book would surely be seized if published, she wished to know if she could not pay us not to attack the book if published as she had prepared it! Pains were taken to inform her of the various decisions of the courts of England and this country, and she was advised, with great minuteness, of the law and its bearings upon such publications. Receiving a very emphatic negative to her delicate proposition that she should pay some money not to have her book attacked, she next asked whether, if she should change the book so as to make it conform to the law, we would not "attack it just a little," and seize a few copies if she paid us for doing so, so as to attract attention to her book and get the newspapers to notice it. This proposition brought only another disappointment to her hopes. She said she did not care about any odium from publishing the book; the only thing she was anxious about was that we should promise not to arrest her, as she did not want to be arrested and locked up.

It was suggested to her that she had better submit her manuscript for examination. She said that she would, only she was

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afraid it was so bad that we would destroy it. We assured her that if her manuscript was of a doubtful character we would submit it to the district attorney for his opinion, and be bound by that opinion. She finally left, expressing sorrow and regret that she had come to our office, as now she would not dare publish her book, as she had set her heart upon doing.

It was both sad and ludicrous to hear this fair young woman pleading to be allowed to publish her obscene book in order to advertise her name and lift it into prominence before the public. Her motives as avowed are typical of a certain class of modern writers who place the sensuous products of their minds before the public for fame and pay. Money and a large advertisement of their names before the public as authors are all the reward that many writers ask for prostituting their genius and talents to base purposes. There seem to be a criminal indifference and recklessness on the part of many writers and publishers as to what results flow from the dissemination of their leprous products.

The first thing after an author has written a book of questionable character is to secure some reputable publisher or bookseller to handle and push it. The next step towards the realization of his desire for fame and gain is to have the book roundly attacked because of its lustful tendencies, by the daily and weekly papers and periodicals. The New York Society for the Suppression of Vice long ago learned that to attack a book or paper, and not carry through the prosecution to success in the courts, was to secure a quasi-indorsement by the courts and a large amount of free advertising for the offensive matter. Our plan has always been to discover the author and publisher, and secretly strike a blow at the fountain-head by seizing the publication and plates and arresting the publisher and author.

The care taken by the society in the preparation of cases may be illustrated by the results for the past three years. During 1888, of 103 cases brought to trial 101 were convicted. In 1889, out of 127 cases brought to trial 125 were convicted; while during 1890 we had 155 convictions out of 156 cases. This record speaks well for our district attorneys, as well as for the preparation of these cases.

Again, this society has always aimed to reach authors and publishers, and not merely venders. This is illustrated by the fact that out of 227 different books published in this country,

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the stereotypes and electroplates, woodcuts and steel and copper-plate engravings for printing and illustrating 225 have been seized and destroyed; while the plates for the other two books were destroyed by the publisher for fear we would secure them and prosecute him.

It is both lamentable and disheartening, just as the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice has practically suppressed the grosser books and pictures which for years have cursed this country, that we should have an epidemic of lewdness through the channels of light literature. There is at present a strong competition among writers and publishers of cheap books and papers to see which one can excel the others in unclean stories.

The object and ambition of many writers seem to be to show how they can evade the law and yet publish stories of a suggestive and criminal character. The basest representatives of profligacy and unhallowed living are made the subjects for leading characters in many novels published at the present day. Many news-stands are no longer either safe or respectable places for children and youth to visit or purchase books at. Many of the publications are of such a character that they are sufficient when seen in the hands of any girl to blast her good name and reputation. A respectable person scarcely knows what novel to select from the numerous products offered by the newsdealers, and many books publicly offered for sale no decent person would be seen carrying in his or her hands upon a public conveyance.

There are two things of immense importance to be considered in this connection. The first is the class to be affected and the results of this kind of devil seed-sowing; the second, the kindred vices that are preying upon the youth of to-day.

As to the first, nearly one-third of the entire people of the United States are twenty-one years of age or under. This means that upwards of *twenty millions* of youth and children are in the plastic or receptive state, open to every insidious teacher, and subject to every bad influence—a period of life when character is forming and is most easily moulded.

Nor must we forget that the children of to-day are not only to be the men and women of to-morrow, but also the parents of a still more future generation. *This nation's highest interests to-day centre in these millions of youth and children.* Religion and morality are the only safe foundations for a nation's future pros-

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perity and security. Any other foundations will crumble before the encroachments of vicious propensities and criminal avarice. By cursing the youth of to-day we heavily discount the prosperity of the future of this nation, and endanger the permanency of our national institutions. *These writers and publishers are conspirators against the nation's highest hopes for the future.*

Such authors may coin money from their publications; they may attain popular positions before the public; but as sure as the night follows the day, so sure must this nation's harvest from this seed-sowing of popularized nastiness be corrupt lives and blotches upon the face of society. These authors may evade the laws of the land, but they cannot evade the natural consequences that are sure to flow from the dissemination of their vile publications.

"Oh, but," some author says, "my story always has a moral!" What does the boy care for a moral after his mind has been engrossed, his imagination fired, and his passions aroused by some florid description of the precincts of sin, or of the loose conduct of the vile principal characters? What boy or girl stops to read the moral of a sensational story of bloodshed, lust, or crime?

The worst blow that can be dealt such a book is silent contempt. Why notice such a book at all? Why not send it back to the author or publisher? Is not the sending of a dirty book for favorable notice an insult to decency, and to the one to whom it is sent? A good man named McDowell, before our day as a society, undertook to suppress obscene publications by denouncing the authors, disclosing the methods of trading in such matters, and describing how such books were advertised, and how they were kept hidden or stored away by those dealing in them. This served the venders of filth as one of the very best means of advertising that could have been employed.

There are various other sources of danger to the youth of this country to which it is proper to call attention before passing to the laws and decisions of the courts affecting this kind of literature.

The secular press, by the sickening details of loathsome and reeking crimes, is invading our homes with matters which blast the finer sensibilities and spread the pestilential seeds of crime and vice. Distilled from the daily papers, come the weekly illustrated

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papers of crime, which flaunt their degrading influences from news-stands and shop windows, to the detriment of the morals of our boys and girls.

Other subtile influences are also exerted. The tendency to scoff at religion, to rail at moral reform; the practice of emphasizing infidel and blasphemous lectures and subjects by full reports; and the advertisements of "personal" and "quack" medical notices and books, all are exerting a silent influence in the wrong direction. While they destroy respect for holy things, they breed also a disregard for those higher and nobler qualities of mind which make for good.

Then, again, we have the "boy-and-girl story papers," the "nickel" and "dime novels," and so-called "monthly libraries" of cheap literature. Many of these are revealers of criminal secrets, instructors in the science of crime. Crime is glorified. The leading character in many of these stories is a criminal, who succeeds in winning a fortune for himself by setting at defiance the laws of the land. Morality and virtue are treated as things to be despised, while reckless living is made the means of rapid transit from poverty to affluence.

Better that our youth be taken by their parents into the sinks of iniquity and dens of vice, and their finer sensibilities shocked by the realities of crime, than that their fancies shall be taught fantastic scenes from these sensational and vivid descriptions of the purlieus of sin and shame.

Our newspapers are constantly filled with accounts of the victims of "dime novels" or "blood-and-thunder" story papers. To show something of the enormous amount of this kind of criminal literature, we may cite the fact that six tons' weight of books and plates was seized by this society in a single office of one of these criminal story-paper publishers.

It was not long ago that, in Westchester County, three lads, crazed by these stories of crime, under a fourteen-year-old leader, presented a loaded revolver at the head of a gentleman upon the public street and demanded "your money or your life."

A few years ago we arrested a young man at Newburg, N. Y., who, hearing that the officers of the law were after him, had armed himself with a bowie knife. When asked what he had that for, he replied: "I heard you were after me, and so I fixed myself." The next day he and his young associate, after being

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locked up in a cell over night, confessed that they were victims of these "boy-and-girl" story papers. Both had been expelled from an institution of learning for insubordination and disorder.

A youth in one of our Western States, under fourteen years of age, was recently hung by a mob of citizens for having, in his mad craze to be famous like the boys in the stories he had been reading, shot three men.

A few months ago a lad about thirteen was arraigned in the Tombs Police Court, in New York, for shooting a boy about his own age. The evidence disclosed the fact that some boys had been gambling; that a dispute arose over a pencil, during which one of the boys told this young desperado that he "lied"; whereupon, after the manner of the hero of a story, the young gambler arose from his seat at the gaming-table, drew his revolver, saying, "Johnnie, that's got to be wiped out with blood," and shot his little companion down.

The newspapers recently contained an account of a gang of boys, all under fourteen, who had bound themselves together under solemn pledge and oath as a band of bandits, and in solemn conclave an order had been issued that each boy should slay his own mother. One young lad started to practise on a servant girl before attacking his mother and was arrested for assault, and the details of the conspiracy were thus discovered.

Many a boy or youth has been led to commit crimes which have brought him to the penitentiary or the State's prison, from the infection or seduction of this class of crime-breeding publications.

There is still another class of books which are to-day appearing in great numbers, comparatively speaking, which reflect no honor on those who make them a source of personal profit and gain. Many publishers seem to have searched the archives of foreign libraries for erotic books, classics, standard literature, suppressed editions of notoriously vile writers of old, and these are translated, or obscene selections taken from them, and bound up in cheap sensational shape, and placed in indiscriminate circulation with a wanton desire to make money from the sale thereof, utterly regardless of the degrading effect of the matter thus reduced from literary purposes to sensational circulation.

Garbage smells none the less rank and offensive because deposited in a marble fount or a gold or silver urn. So these foul stories

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and unclean tales of ancient writers find no justification in the moral world simply because clothed in smooth verse or choice rhetoric. Decaying matter breeds disease, whether confined in costly receptacles or ash-barrels. So this wretched tainted matter, stolen from ancient writers, which is made to appeal to the depraved taste, is equally deadly in its polluting effects; indeed, it is in some respects worse, for coarse words shock and disgust, while the smooth flow of genius and talent thus prostituted more easily deludes and captivates the fancy and engages attention.

Some years ago a book-dealer on Broadway undertook to publish a cheap edition of a grossly obscene book, which in the original tongue was and is regarded as a text-book of pure Italian of the fourteenth century. To make it still more sensational, he added certain engravings, and then advertised and sold it at a cheap price. The sale of this publication was stopped by this society.

There is a mistaken idea, which largely prevails, that anything, no matter how corrupting and indecent it may be, which appears in classical or standard literature, may be disseminated indiscriminately. Classical and standard literature is designed for literary men and for literary purposes. When of an obscene nature, such books are properly restricted in every well-regulated public library, and should be kept from general circulation and confined to literary purposes, precisely the same as standard medical works, containing anatomical plates, are restricted in their sale to physicians and medical students.

These cheap, garbled translations, with additional matter added to quicken the sale, are of no earthly value to any literary or professional person; they are "quack" literary publications, and are of no importance except to promote the greed for gain of the man who publishes them in this form. There is no sound principle to justify the parading of such ancient indecencies in literature before the rising generation; and the book-seller, whether on Broadway, Fifth Avenue, Fourteenth or Twenty-third Street, or in the lowest slums of the city, should be dealt with like any other dealer in disreputable and immoral works. To call these cheap, garbled translations "classics," and to make no distinction between the original and these bastard publications, is an insult to modern intelligence.

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Again, medical books, with plates showing the anatomy of the human body, are misappropriated to illustrate pamphlets which are made the advertising medium of some quack medical institution or quack doctor; these last, sent out indiscriminately through the mails of the United States, going into the homes of the land in unsealed packages, liable to be opened by any class in the community, are an outrage upon the family and an insult to every person to whom they are sent.

It seems strange that men of intelligence and literary culture should fail to make the distinction between legitimate classical, standard literature, or medical works restricted to their proper and legitimate purposes, and these cheap and garbled publications and translations when sold indiscriminately and in such a way as to be liable to fall under the notice and attention of those for whom such publications are neither fitted nor designed. The popular idea concerning this class of books, no matter how vile or how indiscriminately circulated, is that the vender or publisher cannot be interfered with by the law. Such is not the law, however.

Another popular delusion is that, if a writer claims not to intend to harm others, he cannot be interfered with; that an artist may set up for himself a certain ideal or standard of morality; that he may undertake to expose vice, and by so doing may make pictures that are shocking to modesty and offensive to decency, but that as long as his motive is commendable his pictures cannot be condemned. Again, it is maintained that, if it does not appear that the motive or intent of the vender or writer of a book is bad, then the matter is not to be considered in any other light than as intended by the writer or vender thereof. Many good lawyers have contended in court that we must show the "guilty intent" of the person accused in order to make out a case of "selling an obscene book or picture."

It seems exceedingly fitting just at this time, when there are so many of these cheap novels and abortive attempts at reproducing translations from standard and other literary works, that we should consider not only the effects of this sensual matter upon the twenty millions of youth in this country, but also the legal principles which govern this very important subject.

Classical, standard, literary, and medical works are all indictable if sold in such a manner as to reach and corrupt the young

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and inexperienced. The principles of common law which have prevailed for more than a century and a half are tersely laid down in a celebrated case decided in 1727 in the King's Bench Court in England, in Rex *vs.* Curl, to wit:

"Peace includes good order and government, and that peace may be broken in many instances without an actual force, to wit:
"I. If it be an act against the constitution and civil government.
"II. If it be against religion.
"III. If it be against morality."

This principle was affirmed in 1815 in the great leading case of Commonwealth *vs.* Sharpless *et al.* in Pennsylvania,—the defendant being indicted for exhibiting an obscene work of art, a painting,—where it was again held that

"what tended to corrupt society is a breach of the peace, and punishable by indictment. . . . Hence it follows that any offence may be punished, if in its nature and by its example it *tends* to the *corruption* of morals, although it be not committed in public." (2 Serg. & Rawle 102.)

These principles have been affirmed and reaffirmed for more than a century and a half by all the higher courts in England and America.

The leading case against the sale of obscene books in this century is that of the Queen *vs.* Hicklin, tried in Queen's Bench Court, England, before Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn and a full bench, in 1867. Hicklin was charged with the sale of a book which the prosecution admitted and conceded was written in the interest of the Protestant religion, and sold by Hicklin from a good motive, to expose, as he claimed, the errors of the Roman Catholic Church concerning the evils of the confessional. Hicklin made no profit, but sold the book at cost, as a member of an anti-Romanist society. Mr. Kydd, a learned barrister, appeared for Hicklin. He did what many a lawyer in this country has attempted to do—offered the substance of other and standard works as justification, on the ground that the matter under indictment was not worse than matters existing in other works which are tolerated. The Lord Chief-Justice said:

"I think the test of obscenity is this: whether the tendency of the matter charged as obscenity is to deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences, and into whose hands a publication of this sort may fall."

This test of obscenity has been adopted and affirmed in every case of importance tried since upon both continents, until it is

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now the settled test for a jury. It was a few years afterwards applied in this country in the most celebrated case ever tried in the United States courts regarding the sending of obscene matters through the mail. Judge Benedict, in charging the jury, after citing the above test, added :

"Now, gentlemen, I have given you the test; it is not a question of whether it would corrupt the morals, tend to deprave your minds or the minds of every person; it is a question whether it *tends* to deprave the minds of those open to such influences, and into whose hands a publication of this character might come. It is within the law if it would suggest impure and libidinous thoughts in the young and inexperienced." (U. S. *vs.* Bennett.)

There is also a unanimity in the decisions of the courts in England and the United States upon the impropriety and unlawfulness of offering for indiscriminate circulation in popular form medical, standard, and literary works where they contain matters relating to sexual organs, or stories replete with lewd, indecent, and obscene suggestions. These decisions need to be emphasized at the present time. Many publishers are reckless, and doubtless ignorant of them. Says the United States Court in Illinois :

"Illustrated pamphlets, consisting partially of extracts from standard works on medicine and surgery, but of an obscene and indecent character, and intended for general circulation, are within section 3893 R. S. of U. S." (U. S. *vs.* Cheeseman, 19 Fed. R. 495.)

This is the section prohibiting obscene matters from being transmitted by mail.

The Court of Appeals in the Müller case confirms and affirms the same principle by saying:

"We do not doubt that whether a publication is obscene or not may in some cases depend upon circumstances. For example, a medical book for the instruction of medical men may contain illustrations suitable and proper as a part of the work, but which if detached and published alone for circulation might be deemed indecent within the statute." (Peo. *vs.* Müller, 96 N. Y. 413.)

In the light of these just decisions, what of the publication in pamphlet form, at low and popular prices, of garbled translations of classical literature or standard works of an obscene, lewd, and indecent character? What of the reproduction of resurrected nasty books, which were supposed to have passed away with the death of their authors, in which publishers of the present day are

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trying to outrival one another, by unearthing and reprinting them in popular form? Is not the practice reprehensible and the business damnable? Such reckless disregard of the welfare of the twenty millions of youth in this country calls for the strongest expressions of condemnation.

The intent of the author or vender has nothing to do with the question whether a book placed in a child's hands or in the possession of another person is or is not obscene, lewd, or indecent. The question in all cases is *a question of fact for a jury.* A committing magistrate has nothing to do with this question of fact, nor with the motive of the defendant. His duty is to ascertain whether the book complained of was sold, and whether there is probable cause to believe the defendant sold it. He cannot exercise the prerogatives of a jury. Indeed, there is no decision in conflict, that I have ever heard of or been able to discover, during the past century and a half, or since the Curl case in 1727. As many lawyers will contend that there can be no crime where there is no criminal intent, it will be necessary to produce authorities to sustain my proposition.

The Court of Appeals of the State of New York has in explicit terms defined section 317 of the penal code, or the act to suppress obscene publications. It says:

"The statute makes the selling of an obscene and indecent picture a misdemeanor. *There is no exception by reason of any special intent in making the sale.*"

Returning to the leading English case (Queen *vs.* Hicklin), we find the full bench, through its Lord Chief-Justice, saying upon the subject:

"It is a universal principle that when a man is charged with doing an act of which the probable consequences may be highly injurious, the intention is an inference of law resulting from the doing of the act, and although the appellant may have had another object in view he must be taken to have intended that which is the natural consequence of the act. If he does an act which is illegal, it does not make it legal that he did it with some other object. That is not a legal excuse unless the object was such as under the circumstances rendered the particular act lawful."

Subsequently a man named Brannon undertook to publish a copy of the proceedings in Hicklin's case, and embodied the same matter upon which Hicklin had been convicted, and thought to justify his act on the ground of no evil intent, asserting that his book was only a verbatim report of the legal proceed-

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ings in a court. He was convicted, and upon his appealing his case the court held :

"The probable effect of the publication of this book being prejudicial to public morality and decency, the appellant must be taken to have intended the natural consequences of such publication, even though the book was published with the object referred to by his counsel." (Steele *vs.* Brannon, 7 L. R. C. L. 267.)

The object of all the laws prohibiting the dissemination of obscene matter is the same—to protect the morals of the young and inexperienced ; and where publications endanger these morals those writings come clearly within the purview and condemnation of the law.

This article is written in the hope that the blind may be made to see and the erring to correct their ways, so as to lessen the dangers now threatening the rising generation.

Our country is making mighty strides towards affluence and prosperity. Mighty responsibilities are keeping pace with every step in advance made by this nation. Unless the restraining forces of religion and morality keep ahead of all other considerations, the ship of state will soon be dashed to pieces upon the boulders and quicksands of immorality.

Save our youth from this fetid blast of corruption which is being sent out by the fiery greed of thoughtless, reckless, or criminal authors and publishers. Authors and publishers need to call a halt upon themselves, ere they further curse the youth of this free land and undermine our free institutions.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

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POSSIBILITIES OF THE STEAM YACHT.

BY LEWIS HERRESHOFF.

THE passion for rapid transit, now in full force on land, is becoming general also at sea.

During the last half-decade we have seen the Atlantic covered from land to land in rapidly-lessening time. Hour by hour the passage has been cut down, and to-day trips of less than six days are of such common occurrence that they excite scarcely a passing notice.

In yachting, as well as in the merchant marine, the increasing desire for high speed has been felt, so that a love of rapid motion, once considered devoid of the spirit of sportsmanship, has become so popular that it is quite the ordinary thing to require eighteen or twenty miles an hour for the usual performance of a yacht. There is something exciting in high speed. It stimulates interest that otherwise might be tame. It matters little what force is employed—the bellying sail, the whirling screw, or the dashing paddle—so there is "a bone in her teeth," and particularly if some other yacht is slowly dropping astern, then is the time when your pulses fly and your interest is awakened, as if by some invisible sympathy the straining steel or tugging canvas might receive through your anxiety a fresh measure of power.

Here in America the conditions are conducive to the development of high speed in yachts. We are a restless, quickly-moving people, and many wish to live during the yachting season at a distance from business, where many miles must be traversed daily. Nowhere on the globe do inland water courses afford so ready and agreeable means of rapid transit as with us. The Hudson, the Sound, and the many beautiful bays that diversify

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our coast line bear the forms of numerous swift steam yachts whose owners must be "on 'change" at 10 A. M., and whose delight it is to cut the waters with the chisel-edge of their bows and leave a glistening wake far in the rear.

In England it is otherwise. They are not so "fast," as a people, as we, and, more than that, their surroundings are not favorable for the comfortable and successful use of high-speed steam yachts; they tend more toward sea-going, moderate-powered vessels, that will make easily and safely a voyage to the Mediterranean, or the coast of Norway, or wherever they choose, for the entire earth is the playground of the English. We owe much, however, to the English in the development of the torpedo-boat, which is of very near kin to a speedy steam yacht. If we omit the warlike implements, and increase a little the size and comfort-giving appointments of the cabin, such a craft is the very best form of high-speed yacht that can be devised.

Since the demand for speed is not limited, and since we see year by year new ocean racers of superior power and swiftness, and yachts or torpedo-boats that excel those of last year's construction, the question naturally comes forward, how far can this passion for speed be carried and still result in the use of reasonably safe and durable vessels? It is a query that never can be fully and definitely answered. So long as improvements in material and mechanism can be made, so long will the last production be the fastest and best.

In using the term "high speed" it is intended to mean at least twenty miles an hour. A speed of less than that is reached with comparative ease with materials and modes of construction already in practice. Let it also be understood that the mile as here considered is the statute mile, containing 5,280 feet; the nautical mile, or knot, has 6,080 feet, and while the latter is in sole use at sea, it is found that the statute mile is more convenient in yachting, particularly where the average cruising-ground is in land-locked water or near coast lines.

The improvement of speed in steam yachts can best be considered in three divisions; namely, the form and construction of the hull, the motive power, and the means of propulsion. These subjects we will discuss in order.

The form or model of a vessel has been the chief subject of study by naval architects for many years, and really astonishing

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improvements have been made even during the present generation. While the form of a vessel is of prime value when a fixed, moderate speed is required, when high speed is sought the model takes a secondary place, and is supplanted by the proportion of width to length, or, in more exact terms, the relation of the sectional area to the length. It is, however, presumed that some regard is to be paid to the lines; that is, an attempt is made to mould the form so as to present an easy entrance and exit.

There is a certain speed that attaches to every vessel, which may be called its natural rate; it is mainly governed by its length and the length of the carrier wave which always accompanies a vessel parallel to her line of motion. When a vessel reaches a speed great enough to form a wave of the same length as the moving body, then that vessel has reached her natural rate of speed, and all that can be obtained above that is done by sheer brute force. The natural limit of speed of a boat 40 feet long is about 10 miles an hour; a vessel 60 feet will show 12¼ miles; one 100 feet, 15¾ miles; one 200 feet, 22 miles.

The power employed in propelling a vessel up to her natural limit is in regular proportion to the cube of the speed attained; but when she is forced above that point, the power expended is in greatly increased ratio. For instance, imagine a vessel the natural speed of which is fifteen miles an hour, to obtain which 350 indicated horse-power is required; then the power for twelve miles an hour would be about 180 horse-power; for eighteen miles, over 700 horse-power, and for twenty miles, about 1,000 horse-power. This illustration is approximate, depending on the displacement and weight of the vessel.

The greatly increased power required in making the higher speeds is absorbed by forcing the vessel up an inclined plane, owing to the situation of the carrier wave, the crest of which is so located that the larger portion of the hull is on the falling side, causing the vessel to climb, as it were. Much power is also absorbed by a secondary series of waves.

In this situation lightness of construction will be found to be the greatest factor of speed so far as the hull is concerned, general proportions being first. In the future high-speed yacht we must look more to the subject of lightness of construction, so that greater swiftness can be attained.

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In the construction of vessels less than eighty or one hundred feet in length, it is found that wood can be employed with better results of lightness when a reasonable degree of strength and durability is required. In vessels of the size mentioned, if of steel construction, it would be found that durability would be sacrificed if a hull sufficiently light were built to attain the highest speed. Thin steel plates can be made only fairly durable by the utmost care, such as frequent painting, and have to be kept as little as possible afloat, particularly if in salt water.

Some attempts have been successfully made to modify the form of a yacht, with a view to preventing the tendency to lose proper fore-and-aft trim when at top speed. The yacht "Now Then" is a well-known example. Her stern is carried out into "a straight flat," a fan-tail; it slides over the surface of the water, and prevents her stern from settling. As a factor of speed it is successful, not only in its designed intention, but in preventing the access of air to the region of the screw, thus allowing it to be placed near the level of the surface of the surrounding water without danger of racing.

Some improvement in the model of vessels may be made so as to lessen the size and number of secondary waves formed when at high speed; or by a change in the model it may be possible to mount the carrier wave so as to bring the weight of the hull on the forward or advancing side, when an effect similar to sliding down hill can be had, which result has already been reached in extreme examples of high speed, mostly by torpedo-boats.

The most hopeful quarter in which to look for increase of speed from modification of hull is through the employment of new material that combines lightness, strength, and non-liability to corrosion; but at present it is difficult to see where such a material can be found. Aluminum bronze is near it and doubtless will be used in the near future, but it is too costly, and has practical difficulties besides. Much also may be expected from the alloys of steel and aluminum and steel and nickel, which, so far as lightness and strength are concerned, leave little to be reasonably hoped for.

A factor of speed not always the recipient of proper attention is the character of the wetted surface of a vessel. A smooth, glossy surface, and one that repels water, is greatly to be desired, to which qualities that of anti-fouling must be added. Some of

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these qualities are found in applications in present use; but much can and must be done to lessen the drag of friction on hulls, particularly if they be of metallic construction.

The motive power should perhaps receive the first place in the consideration of high speed, as it stands at the head of prime factors of all progress in manufacturing, railway practice, and navigation. The steam-engine is the only motor that has ever been successfully employed in the attainment of high speed, and from the present outlook it appears as if it would continue to occupy its well-earned position. In the last ten or fifteen years several new motors have been brought to the attention of the public, but for the purposes of this article they are unworthy of consideration.

Electricity has been successfully employed in small vessels as a motive power, but high speed with it has not been reached; yet it would be unwise to say, in face of the astonishing advancement in electrical science, that it may not at some future day answer some special requirement; but as we find it to-day it is absolutely useless where high power and fairly long periods of functioning are necessary.

The steam-engine in its usual form is poorly adapted to use in the development of high power. Steam at pressures far above those employed in the time of the plain or even the compound engine is now commonly and successfully used. Steam above 250 pounds' pressure to the square inch is a far different agent from what it is at pressures generally employed a few years ago. In many of the new torpedo-boats of the smaller class, steam at 300 pounds' pressure is used; and if possibilities are to be considered it is best to take that as a probable pressure.

An engine, to work successfully under a pressure of at least 250 pounds and with 400 revolutions a minute, must be specially designed for such high duty. Not only must the material be the best obtainable, but the bearing surfaces must be greatly increased in area, so that unusual strains can be carried at great velocity, thus allowing adequate chances for lubrication.

In making large cables for bridge-building, wire is used that will stand a pull of 250,000 pounds for each square inch of sectional area, but steel of such abnormal strength cannot be obtained in large masses, even one inch in diameter. So the engine-builder must be content with steel that will sustain a tensional

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strain of only 65,000 pounds, and if he finds it with all the other desirable properties, he is fortunate.

In considering the possibilities of the engine, the greatest hope is in reducing the ratio of weight to power. It is the same idea as in the improvement of the hull—reduction of weight with increase of strength. The "Stiletto's" engine weighs ten pounds for each indicated horse-power; it is a compound engine of peculiar design, but since the date of its construction new conditions have surrounded the marine engine, and to-day the working pressure has nearly doubled over that used six years ago, when the "Stiletto" raced with the "Mary Powell" on the Hudson. So far as the engine alone is concerned, the compound will give a higher duty for its weight than those of higher expansion; but the latter have so many marked advantages that their employment where high speeds are desired is now considered the best practice in marine engineering.

In the triple and quadruple expansion engine the forces are more widely distributed than in the compound, and they are capable of being more exactly balanced; so vibrations are not communicated to the hull in such violent form as with the compound.

The engines of the torpedo-boat "Cushing" are perhaps the best form for high speed extant; they have each five cylinders, so that the expansion is quadruple (the low-pressure cylinder being divided), the strains are widely distributed, the moving parts as light and as well balanced as possible; with the exertion of 1,600 indicated horse-power they run smoothly and with less risk of injury by momentum of connections, and will function for a longer period under trying conditions than any other form of engine in use.

The engines of the "Cushing" exert a horse-power for each fifteen pounds' weight, but, although heavier than the engines having lower rates of expansion, still by reason of greater economy less coal need be supplied to perform a given amount of work; so the displacement of the vessel is no greater.

It is not expected that the form or general arrangement of the present torpedo-boat engine will undergo much change to fulfil increased demands; but improvements in material, details of moving parts with a view of rendering the machine more easily manipulated, etc., seem easily within reach, and already are receiving the earnest attention of designers.

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The generator of steam, or boiler (as in old times it was called), presents a wider field for improvement than any other element of the motive power. As in the case of the hull and engine, the great question to be solved is to lessen weight and at the same time to increase power, both in ability to carry higher pressure and in freedom of steaming. When pressures of 250 or 300 pounds per square inch are considered, the shell boiler is prohibited at the outset, on account of the great weight that would be required to withstand such a pressure.

The tubular boiler is a form that has received a large share of attention from builders, and still its condition is far from satisfactory when economy of fuel, durability, light weight, and accessibility are considered. The more the boiler is subdivided into many integral parts, the lighter each part or tube can be made, the more is danger resulting from a rupture lessened. It is confidently expected that some alloy of aluminum and copper will soon be used in boiler-making, especially as a material for the tubes. Steel is too liable to injury by corrosion from within, as well as from outward exposure. It is true that steel, so long as it lasts, can be made as thin as required for extreme lightness; yet in the consideration of future possibilities it is assumed that practicability is not to be wholly waived, nor the entire construction given over to the one object of high speed.

It is quite reasonable to think that great improvements will be made in fuels and their management. Much has been done with coals, and more can be if always the best means be employed in its combustion. Mechanical stoking and cleaning of fires can be practised with success in high service. The mechanical control of fires is also highly desirable from a humanitarian viewpoint. At high pressures steam is so hot that unless all pipes and exposed surfaces of the boiler be carefully isolated, the temperature of both engine- and boiler-room may become unbearable, even with the best means taken for circulation by fans. Many experiments have been made with liquid fuel, with some measure of success, but while this fuel is very desirable because easily managed and controlled, still its use for even special situations has not prevailed; still with so many determined inventors and experimenters it is to be hoped that some system may be reached by which the hydrocarbons may find the place in marine engineering that they deserve.

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The means of propulsion do not present so wide a field for improvement as the foregoing. The paddle and screw are the only agents that are worthy of special notice.

The paddle is best adapted to comparatively sheltered waters, and on account of slow motion the machinery connected with it must be more heavy and ponderous than that for driving a screw. Very high speeds have been reached by the use of the paddle, and still greater results can be obtained by perfecting the means of feathering and by close attention to the elimination of everything that would disturb the surface of the water through which the vessel is passing.

The screw is far more advantageous than the paddle for the development of high speed. It is much lighter, and on account of the rapidity of revolution the engine can also be less weighty than in case of the paddle. With a screw well immersed and favorably situated as to working in fairly undisturbed water, the amount of power that can be transmitted through it is amazing.

Recent transoceanic practice is decidedly tending toward the use of the twin screw, and by its employment the fastest passages across the Atlantic have been made; but it may be doubted if just as swift passages might not be made with a single screw using the same power. The use of the twin screw, however, has many marked advantages which cannot fail to place it in the highest rank of marine adjuncts where speed and safety are prime consideration.

Triple screws have also been successfully used, but the advantage of their employment for other than special reasons can well be doubted. The form of the propeller screw has been a subject of deep study and untiring experiment. The gain in efficiency from the commonest to the best approved form is so slight that we cannot expect with reason much increase of speed from that quarter. All that can be done is to make the screw of the best and strongest material, of the best design, polish it, and balance it; and if it be placed in a situation where it can work in the least disturbed water, then all is done that can be done, and with the exception of the oft-suggested improvement in material little can be expected from the future screw to increase the speed of vessels.

A comparison of the weights of the entire motive plant of different steam vessels shows that much has been done in reducing the weights and consequently the displacement.

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The motive plant of the "Cushing" weighs about sixty-five pounds for each horse-power exerted; that of the steamship "City of Paris" about 200 pounds; the former has eight times the power when compared with the displacement of the latter.

Some idea of the power required to attain the highest speed in small vessels may be had by the above comparison. The "City of Paris" at her top speed is not forced beyond her natural rate, while the torpedo-boat is driven far beyond her rate as prescribed by length and displacement.

From a general view of the subject it would appear that no marked gain in speed can be reached by confining the attention to any one element or factor of speed; but by a constant devotion to the details of construction, particularly with a view to lessening weights, much can be done to increase the speed of yachts and other vessels, even with the materials now obtainable.

With means now available a speed for a yacht of twenty-eight miles an hour is quite within our reach; that is, for a run of five hours' duration. Shorter runs at a rate of thirty-one miles an hour have been made by a few torpedo-boats, and whatever this class of vessels can do may be taken as a measure of the possibilities of a yacht, and indeed more; for when the warlike apparatus is omitted the chances for attaining the highest speed are increased.

It would not be wise to place an actual limit on possible speed, but we can only admit that, as progress has been made in the last decade, raising speeds from 40 to 50 per cent., it is not unreasonable to expect a still further gain, although not so marked a one. It is surely within the bounds of reason to say that by the opening of the new century steam yachts having a speed of thirty-five miles an hour will be no uncommon thing; and it is also to be hoped that, with the improvement of materials of construction, there will be a like strengthening of human tissue, both in nerve and muscle, for both will be taxed to their utmost in the management of machinery and the guidance of vessels under such conditions.

LEWIS HERRESHOFF.

NOTE.—A steam yacht built to the order of William E. Hearst, of San Francisco, Cal., has just been launched in Bristol, R. I. She is 112 feet long, and has an engine of 800 horse-power. This yacht is intended to be the fastest afloat. By the terms of the contract she must attain a speed of twenty-five miles an hour. She is seaworthy enough to make the voyage to the Pacific coast by the way of the Straits of Magellan.—L. H.

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THE SCIENTIFIC BASIS OF BELIEF.

BY ROBERT H. THURSTON, DIRECTOR OF SIBLEY COLLEGE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

MAN is a soul imprisoned and residing in mechanism, a spirit, the image of God, brought to earth, and with all potentialities embodied. His mechanism is distinguished from those of lower orders simply by the greater perfection of the organism in which his existence is passed in the seen universe; his spirit from the higher orders of intelligences and existences by the fact that he is only able to attain the ends for which he is imprisoned, for a time, on this earth, through the operation of physical structures. He advances by the aid of physical forces and of chemical changes which his enclosing apparatus and machinery are especially fitted to produce, or to take advantage of, in the intricate series of operations which he, automatically or by choice, performs as his work in this world. His visible representative is a marvellous machine; but it is a machine simply. He himself is of the invisible.

This man comes out of the unseen universe, spends a short life in the seen, and returns as mysteriously to the unseen when his work is done and his mortal life ends. He is a composite of soul, intellect, and accidental physical accessories. While we often meet with ill-defined and uncertain evidences that he has other means and methods of cognition of the universes, both seen and unseen, it is invariably the fact that his soul, his intellect, and his physical senses are so intimately related that he gains substantially all his knowledge, of the seen at least, through the aid of the senses alone; he gains, we think and hope, some slight acquaintance with the unseen through the workings of the mind.

When Paulinus was endeavoring to convert the English king, it is said by the historian that no thought was so effeective in

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shaking the king's faith in his heathen gods as that of the old priest: "So seems the life of man, O king! as a sparrow's flight through the hall, when you are sitting at meat in winter-tide, with the warm fire lighted on the hearth, but the icy rain-storm without. The sparrow flies in at one door, and tarries for a moment in the light and heat; then, flying forth from the other, vanishes into the wintry darkness whence it came: so tarries in our sight for a moment the life of man; but what is before it and what after it we know not." But modern science has, in the midst of its strivings for more tangible and immediately appreciable results, given us some light in this direction; and we are able to see farther into the hitherto unseen and invisible than in the days of the old Saxons, and vastly farther and more clearly than in the times of the prophets of Israel. Science is beginning to see a probability, at least, that the seen is the issue of the unseen; that all life, all characteristics of the living, all the material, the vital, the spiritual of humanity, not only have come out of the unseen, but that they have brought to us all that exists in the unseen, in such varying proportions as humanity, in its imperfect completeness, is capable of accepting; that life, like matter and all other existences, is actually immortal.

Man is composed of all the elements, and in his self, as in his body, in his intangible, as in his tangible, composition, he comprehends a part of every element of the unseen. As in his body we may, by refined chemical analysis, find in muscle, blood, and bones not only oxygen, hydrogen, nitrogen, lime, and phosphorus, but traces of iron and of gold; as earth, air, and water, and all their constituents, and the finest elements of the stars are there; so, we are beginning to believe, are soul and intellect and spiritual part all representative, in composition, of the highest heavens, the deepest hells, and the nearest, as the farthest, souls, intellects, spirits.

Man being thus a part of every universe, seen or unseen, sensible or unfelt, consciously or unconsciously related, it is certain that he must seek knowledge in each realm through his appropriate part. Physical science gives him knowledge of the material, its substance, laws, forces, and energies; intellect brings him into touch with the intellectual; spiritual senses convey to him the intuitions, not the less true and exact, if rightly apprehended, than science itself—the intuitions of morality and the

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fundamental elements of religious and soul life. Each may, perhaps, be expected to aid the other in their common or approximate fields; but the truest thoughts must come from the truest and most appropriate source. Science cannot teach religion; creeds can give no aid to science in its formulations of physical law; intellectual attainments cannot substitute themselves for the moralities. We must always, we may presume, study nature through miscroscope, telescope, test-tube, and spectroscope; sound logic must always formulate our philosophies; we must learn to know God through the spiritual powers, no less existent, if less readily perceived and characterized in language, than other human attributes.

The spiritual is as essential to a complete human character as is the intellectual, or the simply moral, or the physical part itself. The unsymmetrical individual may lack this element, just as he may be otherwise defective; but it is essential to perfection. On the other hand, it may, I think, undoubtedly exist in excess, and in defect, of other qualities. Blind Tom exhibited a marvellous talent, within a limited sphere, for music, though deficient in intellect; and I can readily conceive a person, or a race, rude and untutored, even in a degree barbarous, but endowed, like God's children in Old-Testament days, with superior religious faculties. Out of the spiritual, we must admit, must come our intuitions, our religious faith. The faculty that we here recognize not only gives power of recognition of religious truths and holds us closer to God, but it is that, also, which gives origin to a necessity in the soul of humanity for settled religious belief. And this necessity is as intense in its manifestation, and as imperative in its compulsion, as any other of the characteristics that sustain the life of the race. It compels all men, all races of men, all ages of humanity and of every race, to seek a formal theory and settled creeds. It is thus that man has been seeking, as a vital element of life, from the first to the latest days, a religion and a creed. And by a creed he usually means a code of absolute truth. What that code shall prove to be he cares not, nor has he a right to care; but he does and must desire that it shall be a firm foundation for his ethical and devotional life.

As in the field of natural science and in all physical investigation, our books contain the past, our instruments and apparatus contain the future, so, in the higher researches of the philosopher

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and the moralist, the books must be searched for the few stray, widely-scattered truths acquired to the time; while in the future lies much still to be gained by man through patient endeavor and the use of men as his instruments, mind as his active agent. In this work nothing can be expected from those "obstinate theorists," as Arago calls them, "who, without being struck by the thousands of instances to the contrary, do yet refuse qualities of the heart to every man whose intellect has been fostered by the fertile and sublime and imperishable truths of the exact sciences." But scientific men must do their part, and their work must be accepted as, so far as it goes, the most stable of all fruits of our study of God's universe and its various worlds, whether tangible or intangible, material, moral, or intellectual. Honesty, fairness, kindness, and good-fellowship must distinguish the attitude of every one who would be successful in such great work.

As Emerson says, "the man of genius must occupy the whole space between God, pure mind, and the multitude of uneducated men. He must draw from the infinite reason on one side; and he must penetrate into the heart and sense of the crowd on the other"; then, with Plato, considering the soul to be immortal, he will "always persevere in the road which leads upward," and, after death, "possess, in the other world, a destiny suited to the life so led in this."

Professors Stewart and Tait, in that remarkable work, "The Unseen Universe," secure what they regard as a "criterion of truth" in the proposition that "God will never permanently put the human race to intellectual confusion." They therefore believe that any real moral or philosophic truth will be recognized by mankind as such; that moral principles, universally recognized as such by the human race, must be accepted as absolute; and that, in proportion as an ethical proposition is generally acknowledged by the most intelligent, its truth may be considered as established. Now, while we may not be able to assert that this foundation principle may be considered as itself absolutely established,—for in the field of morals and the intuitions the whole system of logic and deduction must be based on admitted axioms, incapable of proof,—I think we may at least accept the proposition of Thomson and Tait as the best guide available, out side "revelation," even though it be not itself revelation, as all moral truths are, in a sense.

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Let us, for the moment at least, take this principle as our starting-point, and, looking over the religions and the theologies of the past and of the present, endeavor to select from among their many and diverse beliefs those which are the most essential and most unquestionable. In this search for truth we need hardly attempt to follow the course of the great English philosopher whose adventures are described by Bernardin de Saint Pierre, finding truth, at last, in "La Chaumière Indienne"; though we might not unreasonably expect in some sense to repeat his experiment, and, were we to do so, to find little aid among the great philosophers and learned divines; coming nearest to the divinity of Truth, at last even touching the hem of her garments, amid the wilds of the forest and in the humblest dwellings of the earth, among the outcasts and the pariahs, exiled from society, living only with God, and preserving, as the soul cannot amid the rush of the world and its distractions, instincts of right and wrong, always most sure and strong in the bosom of the child and of the childlike.

Truths recognized by the simple and the childlike; those accepted by great masses of people nearest nature, the source; and principles universally admitted by those who are disposed to do right and to kindliness and hospitality—these are most certainly truths and farthest beyond dispute. What pariah and Brahmin alike accept, what Hindoo and European, Cossack and Mexican, equally recognize, may be taken as God's truth, if consonant with the doctrines of the Christ.

But Christ had no formulated creed; his were no rigid statements of the moral law through contrived and circumscribed assertions of limited application. He simply lived a divine life, talked the doctrine of universal love, gave all for love, and died. We may be sure that we need not attempt more than he did. Should we take his ways and follow them faithfully to their end, with no more explicit statement of our belief and doctrine than he gave us, we may be sure we have done all that is required of us.

In the search for truth, the inquirer must necessarily adopt a scientific spirit; and by this I mean he must look for the real, the actual fact, regardless of his prejudices, his earlier prejudgments, his existent belief, or his anticipations, and absolutely unconcerned as to its bearings and its consequences. God's truths can be trusted to stand, and to stand as a whole, each sustaining

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every other; and no man need fear that any fact of science, of the seen universe, will contradict or embarrass any other; that any two moral principles will ever conflict; that any ethical logic will lack syllogistic certainty; or that the truths of any one universe will fail to accord with, far less will contradict, any truth in any other of the realms of the Almighty. Every worker helps every other in every field; *all* are needed to secure true knowledge and correct appreciation of the All; no final creed can be reached, accordant with God's trinity, except by the concurrence of workers in every department of the triune. But every laborer in this great field must sacrifice everything to truth. Science supplies facts; but facts of little importance to the seeker after moral truths, except as illustrating the consistencies of God's laws and ways. It gives us methods that are of real value as leading us into the habit of taking knowledge as we may, in half-truths, in incomplete systems, in uncertain nebulous lights, *only provisionally*; always standing ready to sacrifice belief or formulated creed to later revelation; adhering, above all and before everything else, to the latest and fullest truth; taking the nearest right, whatever its form, whatever its consequences, as entitled to all the respect of a revelation.

Scientific truths can never conflict with moral or religious truths. There can be no conflict between science and religion; though there has often been discordance between scientific men and theologians.

We all remember that, when the Argonauts visited the Centaur sage, after Cheiron had welcomed and had feasted them, he sang to them his wondrous song of the battles between the Centaurs and the Lapithai, and their glorious but sad ending:—

"Then Orpheus took the lyre and sang of Chaos, and of the making of this marvellous World, and how *all things sprang from Love, who could not live alone in the Abyss.* And, as he sang, his voice rose from the cave, above the crags, and through the tree-tops, and the glens of oak and pine. And the trees bowed their heads when they heard it, and the gray rocks cracked and rang, and the forest beasts crept near to listen, and the birds forsook their nests and hovered round," and all creation gloried and rejoiced in the magic song.

Full many a child has listened in wonder and has absorbed inspiration from Kingsley's magic stories of the old, the wise

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fables of Greek mythology; but what wisest man may not find in this incident, so beautifully told by the old Hellenic troubadours, and translated by that loveliest of modern *repétiteurs*, the simile of grander spiritual events, and an inspiration that, had we Orpheus's heavenly power, should give rise to songs "like voices of angels in Paradise"? I imagine that in our creed, once framed of the scantlings of the creeds of the world and of all the ages, we should find that its study would teach us again "how all things sprang from love" and that "love cannot live alone in the abyss" of this world. In this study we follow Tennyson:—

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control:
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power,
> Yet not for power (power, of herself,
> Would come uncalled for), but to live by law;
> *Acting the law we live by without fear.*"

The *path* only is shown us by our creed; the soul that would follow that path must enter upon it with the right spirit, and pursue it steadily and unhesitatingly, holding the law in reverence; taking its course as the mariner on a long voyage steers by the polestar or the unerring magnetic needle. The guiding-star must be above, and away ahead of us, too, or we shall find ourselves soon far astray. It is this which makes it evident that in olden times, when speculation took the place of research; when fancy, rather than fact, was taken as the guide; when the uncertain meandering of a will-o'-the-wisp, instead of the unchanging polestar, was followed, creeds and lives must have deviated widely from the true course. Had science done nothing more for mankind, its final reconstruction of all our methods of philosophy might be taken as one of the greatest boons ever conferred upon the race.

Absolute independence of belief, and in its expression, is one of the essential elements of progress in religion as in science. I would force my own views upon no one; but I would claim equal privilege in forming my own creeds without interference from others. Others may think as they choose about the inspiration of the Scriptures; but I claim the privilege of concluding that the writer of the decalogue, whether receiving it directly from the Almighty amid the flashing of heavenly flame and the thunders of his voice, in dream, or in the visions of a day—I claim that this

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Moses was inspired with the very self of the God that I would demand the right to worship. Let others discuss the question of the humanity or the divinity of Christ as they will. For me there exists the right to follow the dictates of my own reason and feeling, and to assert the conviction that his was a soul essentially divine. Despite the horrors of the old Hebraic theology, it contains much that is, to me, and judged by my standards, unquestionable inspiration; but how conveyed and how received I would not pretend to say.

I claim the right to do my own thinking so far as to be permitted to believe that inspiration has visited many a good soul in earlier days; that the human race has never been without the inspiring voice of conscience and the spoken voice of righteous men. I am sure Krishna has always lived, has always had a divine side to his nature; and Radha has always stood by, with her divine thought, ready to answer his prayer. Independence of thought has formed many creeds; but all on some basis of admitted truth.

Induction only can give certainty; though it means slow progress. Its operation, however, has resulted in producing very different attitudes in different classes of minds. This process of acquirement of knowledge, practised by one who can only see the physical side of science, leads to the acceptance of agnosticism; all that is unseen is unfelt, unknown, and unknowable. To those who add to scientific attainments some imagination, who, while seeing the drift of the stars, also hear the music of the spheres, the universe seems to constitute its own deity, creation is its own creator, and pantheism is a satisfying religion, as it was to the earliest Indian philosophers. To those logical minds so constituted as necessarily to recognize a plan and a purpose, the theological view seems to point with certainty to an intellectual first cause, a being in whom omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, intelligent foresight, and a vast and eternal programme combine to give the infinite creative and preserving and guiding soul all the qualities of a purely intellectual God—a God without sympathies or feelings or compassion or mercy. This is abstract deism. But to those who recognize moral, as well as mental and intellectual and physical, existence and movements; who feel as well as see; who are aware of an inner life and an inner consciousness; who possess that element, essential to all religious life, which we call faith,—meaning

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knowledge of moral principles and of all affections coming of instruction through channels never recognized or recognizable through any of the processes of physical science,—the anthropomorphic idea of God is confirmed and attains certainty; and the complete and symmetrical human soul, with its knowledge coming of scientific research, its faith coming of heaven-implanted intuitions and consciousness, and its reasoning power basing all conclusions on all knowledge,—the anthropomorphic deist,—believes in a personal God who is the ideal and the impersonation of all that the best of men strive toward and hope to approximate, however feebly—infinity of goodness, infinity of love, infinity of charity, all moral excellence, as well as illimitable knowledge and infinite power.

The agnostic learns nothing except what science can teach him; and his highest thought goes not beyond the mechanism of this organized mass of force-endowed matter, which, only, he can perceive or conceive. The theist "recognizes an omnipresent energy which is none other than the living God," "the infinite and eternal energy from which all things proceed," as Mr. Spencer puts it, of which "our lives, alike physical and mental, in common with all the activities, organic and inorganic, amid which we live, are but the workings." The highest conceptions of a Deity are now arising from the study of the development of the universe from primeval chaos; infinity of expanse enclosing infinitude of germs of all life, of all physical, intellectual, and moral growths, according to a definite plan, and through the operation of law proceeding in an orderly and intelligent scheme toward the perfecting of an unknowable culmination in every realm of physical, intellectual, and moral nature.

With Fiske, "I believe it has been fully shown that, so far from degrading Humanity, or putting it on a level with the animal world in general, the doctrine of evolution shows us distinctly for the first time how the creation and the perfecting of Man is the goal toward which Nature's work has been tending from the first. We can now see clearly that our new knowledge enlarges ten-fold the significance of life, and makes it seem more than ever the chief object of Divine care, the consummate fruition of that creative energy which is manifested throughout the knowable universe. . . . He who regards Man as the consummate fruition of creative energy, and the chief object of Divine care, is almost

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irresistibly driven to the belief that the soul's career is not completed with the present life upon the earth."

In that beautiful pagan, yet Christian, poem, so much bepraised, so much abused, "The Light of Asia," Edwin Arnold, in his inimitable rhythm, thus paraphrases the Buddhist's rendering of the teachings of Gautama as to the right way, the "eightfold path which brings to peace":

"The First good Level is Right Doctrine. Walk
In fear of Dharma, shunning all offence;
In heed of Karma, which doth make man's fate;
In lordship over sense.

"The Second is Right Purpose. Have good-will
To all that lives, letting unkindness die
And greed and wrath; so that your lives be made
Like soft airs passing by.

"The Third is Right Discourse. Govern the lips
As they were palace doors, the King within;
Tranquil and fair and courteous be all words
Which from that presence win.

"The Fourth is Right Behavior. Let each act
Assoil a fault or help a merit grow;
Like threads of silver seen through crystal beads
Let love through good deeds show.

"Four higher roadways be. Only those feet
May tread them which have done with earthly things;
Right Purity; Right Thought; Right Loneliness;
Right Rapture. Spread no wings

"For sunward flight, thou soul with unplumed vans!
Sweet is the lower air and safe, and known
The homely levels: only strong ones leave
The nest each makes his own.

. . . . . .

"Enter the path! There spring the healing streams
Quenching all thirst! There bloom th' immortal flowers,
Carpeting all the way with joy! There throng
Swiftest and sweetest hours!"

And so "all who love the Master for his love of us" are taught by this untaught, yet wisest, of pagans to endeavor,

"Living pure, reverent, patient, pitiful,
Loving all things which live even as themselves,"

to pursue the right path toward the right. Thus, nearly five hundred years before the Christian era, a Christ-like pagan para-

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phrased the Sermon on the Mount. Why may not we, two thousand years later, with all the teachings of the greater leader before us, with all the accumulated intelligence and moral growth of the intervening period at our command, introduce into our paths and our theories of life and work, and of preparation for life and its work, the perfect principle of the Golden Rule, and all those grand corollaries that have been found to follow, by every earnest disciple of the right, from Gautama and the Christ to our own time? It is such adoption of right principles as has accompanied modern changes and advances in moral and intellectual education that has given us so much progress as we have witnessed in the history of the last century. It is the influence of such elements in our future work that we may trust to give to us all that we are to gain, in the future, for ourselves and for our children, for our fellows, for the nation, and for the world.

We can easily see how it happens that Buddhism survives. Its adherents can grasp, through its teachings, some of the loveliest principles; perceive some of the grandest moral truths; realize something of the truest Christian feeling, simple though such believers are; and thus they gain an experience of the best side of life, even in the midst of their ignorance. Faith, at least, is with them. What Bishop Carpenter calls the essentials of religion, its "permanent elements," dependence, fellowship, progress in moral life, are theirs; but, most of all, Buddha commends to them that quality which our martyred President illustrated with his "malice toward none, with charity for all"—all-comprehending love.

Our modern Plato has said: "There will be a new church founded on moral science; at first cold and naked, a babe in a manger again, the algebra and mathematics of ethical law, the church of men to come, without shawms, or psaltery, or sackbut; but it will have heaven and earth for its beams and rafters; science for symbol and illustration; it will fast enough gather beauty, music, picture, poetry. . . . The nameless Thought, the nameless Power, the super-personal Heart,"—"it shall repose alone on that."

"Our little systems have their day;
They have their day and cease to be:
They are but broken lights of thee,
And Thou, O Lord, art more than they."

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Over all, enclosing all, beyond all, and all in all, is love: nobler, diviner, grander than noblest intellect, than grandest beauty of form, than divinest thought. Well may we sing :

> "Strong Son of God, immortal love,
> Whom we, that have not seen thy face,
> By faith, and faith alone, embrace,
> Believing where we cannot prove."

Well may we content ourselves with a creed composed, as to its moral logic, of the Mosaic original ; as to its emotional side, of the Sermon on the Mount ; its whole, the "new commandment," "that ye love one another"! Such a creed satisfies the reason and conscience through the decalogue, the spirit through Christ, the whole soul through love ; while the Lord's prayer expresses every essential aspiration.

Christ crucified is the incarnation and the apotheosis of God's charity—"the dewdrop lost in the shining sea" of infinite love. While faith gives us firm hold on all that the soul prizes, what more do we need ? what more should we desire ? why vex ourselves with minor and perhaps unsolvable questions ? And for the one promise—"Blessed are the *pure in heart,* for they shall see God." That is all ; that is enough !

How much of this essential creed is comprehended in that beautiful verse of Lowell !—

> "All round about our feet shall shine
> A light like that the wise men saw,
> If we our loving wills incline
> To that sweet life which is the Law."

ROBERT H. THURSTON.

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THE STATE AS AN IMMORAL TEACHER.

BY OUIDA.

THE tendency of the last years of the nineteenth century is toward increase in the powers of the state and decrease in the powers of the individual citizen. Whether the government of a country be at this moment nominally free, or whether it be avowedly despotic, whether it be an empire, a republic, a constitutional monarchy, or a self-governing and neutralized principality, the actual government is a substitution of state machinery for individual choice and individual liberty. In Servia, in Bulgaria, in France, in Germany, in England, in America, in Australia, anywhere you will, the outward forms of government differ widely, but beneath all there is the same interference of the state with personal volition, the same obligation for the individual to accept the dictum of the state in lieu of his own judgment. The only difference is that such a pretension is natural and excusable in an autocracy: in a constitutional or republican state it is an anomaly, even an absurdity. But whether it be considered admirable or accursed, the fact is conspicuous that every year adds to the pretensions and powers of the state, and every year diminishes the personal freedom of the man.

To whatever the fact be traceable, it is there; and it is probably due to the increase of a purely *doctrinaire* education, which with itself increases the number of persons who look upon humanity as a drill-sergeant looks upon battalions of conscripts: the battalions must learn to move mechanically in masses, and no single unit of them must be allowed to murmur or to fall out of the ranks. That this conscript or that may be in torture all the while matters nothing whatever to the drill-sergeant. That what would have been an excellent citizen makes a rebellious or inefficient conscript is not his business either: he only requires a battalion which moves with mechanical precision. The state is but a drill-sergeant on a large scale, with a whole nationality marched out on the parade-ground.

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Whatever were in other respects the evils attendant on other ages than this, those ages were favorable to the development of individuality, and therefore of genius. The present age is opposed to such development; and the more the state manipulates the man, the more completely will individuality and originality be destroyed. The state requires a military machine in which there is no hitch, an exchequer in which there is never a deficit, and a public monotonous, obedient, colorless, spiritless, moving unanimously and humbly like a flock of sheep along a straight high road between two walls. That is the ideal of every bureaucracy; and what is the state except a crystallized bureaucracy? It is the habit of those who uphold the despotism of government to speak as though it were some impersonal entity, some unerring guide, some half-divine thing like the pillar of fire which the Israelites imagined conducted them in their exodus. In actual fact, the state is only the executive; representing the momentary decisions of a majority which is not even at all times a genuine majority, but is in frequent cases a fabricated and fictitious preponderance, artificially and arbitrarily produced. There can be nothing noble, sacred, or unerring in such a majority: it is fallible and fallacious; it may be in the right, it may be in the wrong; it may light by accident on wisdom, or it may plunge by panic into folly. There is nothing in its origin or its construction which can render it imposing in the sight of an intelligent and high-spirited man. But the mass of men are not intelligent and not high-spirited, and so the incubus which lies on them through it they support as the camel his burden, sweating beneath it at every pore. The state is the empty cap of Gessler, to which all but Tell consent to bow.

It has been made a reproach to the centuries preceding this one that in them privilege occupied the place of law; but, though privilege was capricious and often unjust, it was always elastic, sometimes benignant: law—civil law, such as the state frames and enforces—is never elastic and is never benignant. It is an engine which rolls on its own iron lines, and crushes what it finds opposed to it, without any regard to the excellence of what it may destroy.

The nation, like the child, becomes either brutalized by overdrilling or emasculated by having all its actions and opinions continually prescribed for it. It is to be doubted whether any

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precautions or any system could compass what the state in many countries is now endeavoring to do, by regulation and prohibition, to prevent the spread of infectious maladies. But it is certain that the nervous terrors inspired by state laws and by-laws beget a malady of the mind more injurious than the bodily ills which so absorb the state. Whether Pasteur's inoculation for rabies be a curse or a boon to mankind, there can be no question that the exaggerated ideas which it creates, the fictitious importance which it lends to what was previously a most rare malady, the nightmare horrors it invokes, and the lies which its propagandists, to justify its pretences, find themselves compelled to invent, produce a dementia and hysteria in the public mind which is a disease far more widespread and dangerous than mere rabies (unassisted by science and government) could ever have become.

The dissemination of cowardice is a greater evil than would be the increase of any physical ill whatever. To direct the minds of men in nervous terror to their own bodies is to make of them a trembling and shivering pack of prostrate poltroons. The microbe may or may not exist; but the nervous terrors generated in the microbe's name are worse evils than any bacillus. It is the physiologist's trade to increase these terrors; he lives by them, and by them alone has his being; but when the state takes his crotchets and quackeries in earnest and forces them upon the public as law, the effect is physically and mentally disastrous. The cholera as a disease is bad enough; but worse than itself by far are the brutal egotism, the palsied terror, the convulsive agonies, with which it is met and which the state in all countries does so much to increase. Fear alone kills five-tenths of its victims, and during its latest visitation in the streets of Naples people would spring up from their seats, shriek that they had cholera, and fall dead in convulsions caused by sheer panic, whilst in many country places the villagers fired on railway trains which they imagined might carry the dreaded malady amongst them. This kind of panic cannot be entirely controlled by any state, but it might be mitigated by judicious moderation, instead of being, as it is, intensified and hounded on by the press, the physiologists, and the governments all over the known world.

The state has already passed its cold, hard, iron-plated arms between the parent and the offspring, and is daily dragging and forcing them asunder. The old moral law may say, "Honor

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your father and mother," etc., etc., but the state says, on the contrary: "Leave your mother ill and untended whilst you attend to your own education; and summon your father to be fined and imprisoned if he dare lay a hand on you when you disgrace and deride him." The other day a workingman in London was sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment with hard labor, because, being justly angry with his little girl for disobeying his orders and staying out night after night in the streets, he struck her twice with a leathern strap, and she was "slightly bruised." The man asked pertinently what was the world coming to if a parent might not correct his child as he thought fit. What can be the relations of this father and daughter when he leaves the prison to which she sent him? What authority can he have in her sight? What obedience will he be able to exact from her? The bruises from the strap would soon pass away, but the rupture, by the sentence of the tribunal, of parental and filial ties can never be healed. The moral injury done to the girl by this interference of the state is irreparable, ineffaceable. The state has practically told her that disobedience is no offence, and has allowed her to be the accuser and jailer of one who, by another canon of law, is said to be set in authority over her both by God and man.

The moral and the civil law alone decree and enforce the inviolability of property: anything which is the property of another, be it but of the value of a copper coin, cannot be taken by you without your becoming liable to punishment as a thief. This, by the general consent of mankind, has been esteemed correct, just, and necessary. But the state breaks this law, derides it, rides rough-shod over it, when for its own purposes it requires the property of a private person: it calls the process by various names—condemnation, expropriation, annexation, etc.; but it is seizure, violent seizure, and essentially seizure against the owner's will. If a man enter your kitchen-garden and take a few onions or a few potatoes, you can seize, prosecute, and imprison him: the state takes the whole garden, and turns you out of it, and turns it into anything else which for the moment seems to the state excellent or advantageous, and against the impersonal robber you can do naught. The state considers it compensation enough to pay an arbitrary value; but not only are there many possessions, notably in land, for the loss of which no equivalent could reconcile us, but the state herein sets up a

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principle which is never accorded in law. If the man who steals the onions offers to pay their value, he is not allowed to do so, nor is the owner of the onions allowed to accept such compensation: it is called "compounding a felony." The state alone may commit this felony with impunity.

The state continually tampers with and tramples on private property, taking for itself what and where and how it pleases: the example given to the public is profoundly immoral. The plea put forth in excuse for its action by the state is that of public benefit: the interests of the public cannot, it avers, be sacrificed to private interest or ownership or rights of any sort. But herein it sets up a dangerous precedent. The man who steals the potatoes might argue in his own justification that it is better in the interest of the public that one person should lose a few potatoes than that another person should starve for want of them, and so either in prison or in poorhouse become chargeable to the nation. If private rights and the sacredness of property can be set at naught by the state for its own purposes, they cannot be logically held to be sacred in its courts of law for any individual. The state claims immunity for theft on the score of convenience: so then may the individual.

If the civil law be in conflict with and contradiction of religious law, as has been shown elsewhere,* it is none the less in perpetual opposition to moral law and to all the finer and more generous instincts of the human soul. It preaches egotism as the first duty of man, and studiously inculcates cowardice as the highest wisdom. In its strenuous endeavor to cure physical ills it does not heed what infamies it may sow broadcast in the spiritual fields of the mind and heart. It treats altruism as criminal when altruism means indifference to the contagion of any infectious malady. The precautions enjoined in any such malady, stripped bare of their pretences, really mean the naked selfishness of the *sauve qui peut*. The pole-axe used on the herd which has been in contact with another herd infected by pleuro-pneumonia or anthrax would be used on the human herd suffering from typhoid, or small-pox, or yellow-fever, or diphtheria, if the state had the courage to follow out its own teachings to their logical conclusions. Who shall say that it will not be so used

*See article "Has Christianity Failed?"—NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, February, 1891.

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some day in the future, when increase of population shall have made mere numbers of trifling account, and the terrors excited by physiologists of ungovernable force ?

We have gained little by the emancipation of human society from the tyranny of the churches if in its stead we substitute the tyranny of the state. One may as well be burned at the stake as compelled to submit to the prophylactic of Pasteur or the lymph of Koch. When once we admit that the law should compel vaccination for small-pox, there is no logical reason for refusing to admit that the law shall enforce any infusion or inoculation which its chemical and medical advisers may suggest to it.

On the first of May, 1890, a French surgeon, M. Lannelongue, had a little imbecile child in his hospital; he fancied that he should like to try trepanning on the child as a cure for imbecility. In the words of the report :

"Il taillait la suture sagittale et parallèlement avec elle une longue et étroite incision cranienne depuis la suture frontale à la suture occipitale; il en resulta pour la partie osseusse une perte de substance longue de 9 centimetres et large de 6 millimetres, et il en resulta pour le cerveau un véritable débridement."

If this child live, and be no longer imbecile, the parents of all idiots will presumably be compelled by law to submit their children to this operation of trepanning and excision. Such a law would be the only logical issue of existing hygienic laws.

In the battlefield the state requires from its sons the most unflinching fortitude ; but in civil life it allows them, even bids them, to be unblushing poltroons.

An officer, being sent out by the English War Office this year to fill a distinguished post in Hong Kong, was ordered to be vaccinated before going to it; and the vaccination was made a condition of the appointment. In this instance a man thirty years old was thought worthy of confidence and employment by the state, but such a fool or babe in his own affairs that he could not be trusted to look after his own health. You cannot make a human character fearful and nervous, and then call upon it for the highest qualities of resolve, of capacity, and of courage. You cannot coerce and torment a man, and then expect from him intrepidity, presence of mind, and ready invention in perilous moments.

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A few years ago nobody thought it a matter of the slightest consequence to be bitten by a healthy dog; as a veterinary surgeon has justly said, a scratch from a rusty nail or the jagged tin of a sardine-box is much more truly dangerous than a dog's tooth. Yet in the last five years the physiologists and the state, which in all countries protects them, have succeeded in so inoculating the public mind with senseless terrors that even the accidental touch of a puppy's lips or the kindly lick of his tongue throws thousands of people into an insanity of fear. Dr. Bell has justly said: "Pasteur does not cure rabies: he creates it." In like manner the state does not cure either folly or fear: it creates both.

The state is the enemy of all volition in the individual: hence it is the enemy of all manliness, of all force, of all independence, and of all originality. The exigencies of the state, from its monstrous taxation to its irritating by-laws, are in continual antagonism with all those who have character uncowed and vision unobscured. Under the terrorizing generic term of law, the state cunningly, and for its own purposes, confounds its own petty regulations and fiscal exactions with the genuine solemnity of moral and criminal laws. The latter any man who is not a criminal will feel bound to respect; the former no man who has an opinion and courage of his own will care to observe. Trumpery police and municipal regulations are merged by the ingenuity of the state into a nominal identity with genuine law; and for all its purposes, whether of social tyranny or of fiscal extortion, the union is to the state as useful as it is fictitious. The state has everywhere discovered that it is lucrative and imposing to worry and fleece the honest citizen; and everywhere it shapes its civil code, therefore, mercilessly and cunningly towards this end.

Under the incessant meddling of government and its offspring, bureaucracy, the man becomes poor of spirit and helpless. He is like a child who, never being permitted to have its own way, has no knowledge of taking care of itself or of avoiding accidents. As, here and there, a child is of rare and strong enough stuff to break his leading-strings, and grows, when recaptured, dogged and sullen, so are there men who resist the dogma and dictation of the state, and when coerced and chastised become rebels to its rules. The petty tyrannies of the state gall and fret them at every step; and the citizen who is law-abiding, so far as the greater moral code is concerned, is stung and whipped

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into continual contumacy by the impertinent interference of the civil code with his daily life.

Why should a man fill up a census-return, declare his income to a tax-gatherer, muzzle his dog, send his children to schools he disapproves, ask permission of the state to marry, or do perpetually what he dislikes or condemns, because the state wishes him to do these things? When a man is a criminal, the state has a right to lay hands on him; but whilst he is innocent of all crime his opinions and his objections should be respected. There may be many reasons—harmless or excellent reasons—why publicity about his life is offensive or injurious to him: what right has the state to pry into his privacy and force him to write its details in staring letters for all who run to read? The state only teaches him to lie.

"You ask me things that I have no right to tell you," replied Jeanne d'Arc to her judges. So may the innocent man, tormented by the state, reply to the state, which has no business with his private life until he has made it forfeit by a crime.

The moment that the state leaves the broad lines of public affairs to meddle with the private interests and actions of its people, it is compelled to enlist in its service spies and informers. Without these it cannot make up its long lists of transgressions; it cannot know whom to summon and what to prosecute.

That duplicity which is in the Italian character, so universally ingrained there that the noblest natures are tainted by it,—a duplicity which makes entire confidence impossible, and secrecy an instinct strong as life,—can be philosophically trained to the influences which the constant dread of the *sbirri* and *spiè* employed under their various governments for so many centuries has left upon their national temperament. Dissimulation, so long made necessary, has become part and parcel of the essence of their being. Such secretiveness is the inevitable product of domestic espionage and trivial interference from the state, as the imposition of a gate-tax makes the peasantry who pass the gate ingenious in concealment and in subterfuge.

The requisitions and regulations of the state dress themselves vainly in the pomp of law; they set themselves up side by side with moral law; but they are not it, and cannot possess its impressiveness. Even a thief will acknowledge that "Thou shalt not steal" is a just and solemn commandment; but that to carry

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across a frontier, without declaring it, a roll of tobacco (which you honestly bought, and which is strictly your own) is also a heinous crime, both common-sense and conscience refuse to admit. The Irish peasant could never be brought to see why the private illicit whiskey-still was illicit, and as such was condemned and destroyed, and the convictions which followed its destruction were amongst the bitterest causes of Irish disaffection. A man caught in the act of taking his neighbor's goods knows that his punishment is deserved; but a man punished for using or enjoying his own is filled with chafing rage against the injustice of his lot. Between a moral law and a fiscal or municipal or communal imposition or decree, there is as much difference as there is between a living body and a galvanized corpse. When in a great war a nation is urged by high appeal to sacrifice its last ounce of gold, its last shred of treasure, to save the country, the response is willingly made from patriotism; but when the revenue officer and the tax-gatherer demand, threaten, fine, and seize, the contributor can only feel the irritating impoverishment of such a process, and yields his purse reluctantly. Electoral rights are considered to give him a compensating share in the control of public expenditure; but this is mere fiction: he may disapprove in every item the expenditure of the state; he cannot alter it.

Tolstoï has constantly affirmed that there is no necessity for any government anywhere: it is not *a* government, but *all* governments, on which he wages war. He considers that all are alike corrupt, tyrannical, and opposed to a fine and free ideal of life. It is certain that they are not "the control of the fittest" in any actual sense, for the whole aspect of public life tends every year more and more to alienate from it those whose capacity and character are higher than those of their fellows: it becomes more and more a routine, an *engrenage*, a trade.

From a military, as from a financial, point of view this result is of advantage to the government, whether it be imperial or republican; but it is hostile to the character of a nation, morally and æsthetically. In its best aspect, the state is like a parent who seeks to play Providence to his offspring, to foresee and ward off all accident and all evil, and to provide for all possible contingencies, bad and good. As the parent inevitably fails in doing this, so the state fails, and must fail, in such a task.

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Strikes, with their concomitant evils, are only another form of tyranny; but they have this good in them—that they are opposed to the tyranny of the state, and tend to lessen it by the unpleasant shock which they give to its self-conceit and self-complacency. Trades-unions turn to their own purposes the lesson which the state has taught them—*i. e.*, a brutal sacrifice of individual will and welfare to a despotic majority.

There is more or less truth and justification in all revolutions because they are protests against bureaucracy. When they are successful, they abjure their own origin and become in their turn the bureaucratic tyranny, sometimes modified, sometimes exaggerated, but always tending towards reproduction of that which they destroyed. And the bureaucratic influence is always immoral and unwholesome, were it only in the impatience which it excites in all courageous men and the apathy to which it reduces all those who are without courage. Its manifold and emasculating commands are to all real strength as the cords in which Gulliver was bound by the pygmies.

The state only aims at instilling those qualities in its public by which its demands are obeyed and its exchequer is filled. Its highest attainment is the reduction of mankind to clockwork. In its atmosphere all those finer and more delicate liberties which require liberal treatment and spacious expansion inevitably dry up and perish. Take a homely instance. A poor, hard-working family found a little stray dog; they took it in, sheltered, fed it, and attached themselves to it; it was in one of the streets of London; the police after a time summoned them for keeping a dog without a license; the woman, who was a widow, pleaded that she had taken it out of pity, that they had tried to lose it, but that it always came back to them; she was ordered to pay the amount of the dog-tax and two guineas' costs; *i. e.*, the state said to her: "Charity is the costliest of indulgencies; you are poor; you have no right to be humane." The lesson given by the state was the vilest and meanest which could be given. This woman's children, growing up, will remember that she was ruined for being kind; they will harden their hearts, in accordance with the lesson; if they become brutal to animals and men, it is the state which will have made them so.

All the state's edicts in all countries inculcate similar egotism; generosity is in its sight a lawless and unlawful thing: it is so

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busied in urging the use of disinfectants and ordering the destruction of buildings and of beasts, the exile of families and the closing of drains, that it never sees the logical issue of its injunctions, which is to leave the sick man alone and flee from his infected vicinity: it is so intent on insisting on the value of state education that it never perceives that it is enjoining on the child to advance itself at any cost and leave its procreators in their hovel. The virtues of self-sacrifice, of disinterested affection, of humanity, of self-effacement, are nothing to it; by its own form of organism it is debarred from even admiring them; they come in its way; they obstruct it; it destroys them.

Mr. Ruskin, in one of the papers of his *Fors Clavigera*, speaks of an acacia tree, young and beautiful, green as acacias only are green in Venice, where no dust ever is; it grew beside the water steps of the Academy of the Arts and was a morning and evening joy to him. One day he found a man belonging to the municipality cutting it down root and branch. "Why do you murder that tree?" he asked. The man replied "*Per far pulizia*" (to clean the place). The acacia and the municipality of Venice are an allegory of the human soul and its controller, the state. The acacia was a thing of grace and verdure, a sunrise and sunset pleasure to a great soul; it had fragrance in its white blossoms and shade in its fair branches; it fitly accompanied the steps which lead to the feasts of Carpaccio and the pageants of Gian. Bellini. But in the sight of the Venetian municipality it was irregular and unclean. So are all the graces and greenness of the human soul to the state, which merely requires a community tax-paying, decree-obeying, uniform, passionless, enduring as the ass, meek as the lamb, with neither will nor wishes; a featureless humanity practising the goose-step in eternal routine and obedience.

When the man has become a passive creature, with no will of his own, taking the military yoke unquestioningly, assigning his property, educating his family, holding his tenures, ordering his daily life, in strict accord with the regulations of the state, he will have his spirit and his individuality annihilated, and he will, in compensation to himself, be brutal to all those over whom he has power. The cowed conscript of Prussia becomes the hectoring bully of Alsace.*

* Whoever may care to study the brutal treatment of conscripts and soldiers in Germany by their officers is referred to the revelations published this year by Kurt Abel and Captain Miller, both eye-witnesses of these tortures.

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"*Libera chiesà in libero stato*" is the favorite stock phrase of Italian politicians; but it is an untruth—nay, an impossibility—not only in Italy, but in the whole world. The church cannot be liberal because liberality stultifies itself; the state cannot be liberal because its whole existence is bound up with dominion. In all the political schemes which exist now, working themselves out in actuality, or proposed as a panacea to the world, there is no true liberality; there is only a choice between despotism and anarchy. In religious institutions it is the same: they are all egotisms in disguise. Socialism wants what it calls equality; but its idea of equality is to cut down all tall trees that the brushwood may not feel itself overtopped. Plutocracy, like its almost extinct predecessor, aristocracy, wishes, on the other hand, to keep all the brushwood low, so that it may grow above it at its own pace and liking. Which is the better of the two?

Civil liberty is the first quality of a truly free life; and in the present age the tendency of the state is everywhere to admit this in theory, but to deny it in practice. To be able to go through the comedy of the voting-urn is considered privilege enough to atone for the loss of civil and moral freedom in all other things. If it be true that a nation has the government which it deserves to have, then the merits of all the nations are small indeed. With some the state assumes the guise of a police officer, and in others of a cuirassier, and in others of an attorney; but in all it is a despot issuing its petty laws with the pomp of Jove; thrusting its truncheon, or its sword, or its quill into the heart of domestic life, and breaking the backbone of the man who has spirit enough to resist it. The views of the state are like those of the Venetian municipality concerning the acacia. Its one aim is a methodical, monotonous, mathematically-measured regularity: it admits of no expansion; it tolerates no exceptions; of beauty it has no consciousness; of any range beyond that covered by its own vision it is ignorant. It may work on a large scale,—even on an enormous scale,—but it cannot work on a great one. Greatness can be the offspring alone of volition and of genius: it is everywhere the continual effort of the state to coerce the one and to suffocate the other.

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PENSIONS AND PATRIOTISM.

BY THE HON. GREEN B. RAUM, UNITED STATES COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS.

THE attention of the country has been particularly attracted to the subject of pensions by the passage by Congress last year of the law known as the "Disability Bill" and the expenditure of $106,000,000 for pensions. The fact that more than 600,000 claims have been filed under this recent law, and the further fact that the expenditures for pensions will be materially increased, have provoked a discussion upon the general subject of pensions not at all complimentary to the legislators who passed the laws or to the old soldiers who become the beneficiaries.

It is alleged that already unjust and unnecessary taxation is maintained to meet these expenditures, which are likely to be swelled to an annual outlay of $200,000,000. The wisdom and justice of the whole system of pension legislation seem to be seriously called into question.

All civilized nations have for centuries granted pensions in some form to the soldiers who fought in their great wars. The United States has followed the example of other nations, and has granted pensions, and passed other beneficial laws, for the soldiers who have fought in all the wars from 1775 to the present time, and the widows, orphans, and dependent parents of deceased soldiers have been made beneficiaries of this legislation. Pensions were first granted for wounds and other disabilities incurred in the service and in line of duty. But little opposition has ever been manifested to the passage of laws granting pensions to this class of persons. The next step has been, after the lapse of years, to grant a service pension to the survivors of a war. This was done for the survivors of the Revolutionary War, of the War of 1812, and of the Mexican War. The law of 1887 granting a service pension to the surviving veterans of the

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Mexican War received the approval of the country, as an act of justice to a class of patriotic citizens who had performed honorable service and who were then in the decline of life.

Prior to the War for the Union a favorite plan for the recognition of the value of the services of our citizen soldiery was to make them grants from the public lands. To the soldiers of the War of 1812 and of the Mexican War were granted land warrants amounting to 63,500,000 acres, being 2,000,000 greater than the area of Illinois and Ohio.

This long line of legislative precedents has a profound meaning. It emphasizes the fact that the noblest duty a man can perform is to risk his life for his country; that a soldier who incurs the hardships and dangers of war does so not only to protect his own doorsill but that of all the citizens of the republic; that the paltry dollars which a soldier receives as monthly pay for his military service in time of war cannot be considered a suitable equivalent for his patriotic services; and that an equitable obligation arises on the part of the government to make suitable provision for the men who have fought under the national flag, and for their widows, orphans, and dependent parents.

It is said that this obligation does not rest in contract. Be it so. It is, however, an obligation which rests upon principles and sentiments quite as binding upon the heart and conscience of the nation as a written contract signed and sealed.

When a nation goes to war, its very existence is involved. The outcome of the struggle depends upon the number of soldiers that can be rallied under the flag, and therefore upon the patriotism of the people. It is essential to the safety of every country that this spirit of patriotism shall be encouraged and fostered so as to maintain a willingness on the part of the people to spring to the defence of the country in time of danger. This spirit is regarded with us as a greater bulwark for public defence than a large standing army. In all countries the highest honor is accorded to the men who fight the battles of their country.

There seem to be three well-defined grounds upon which pension laws and other beneficial legislation for soldiers rest: first, to stimulate the spirit of patriotism in the people by recognizing and honoring the love of country exhibited by the soldiers; second, a recognition that the monthly pay of the soldier was not a suitable equivalent for the services rendered; third, a broad sen-

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timent of gratitude upon the part of the people to men who have died in defence of their country and to those who have risked health and life under the flag.

Let no one make the mistake of concluding that all this legislation by Congress and by State legislatures for the benefit of the men who served their country during the war, and of their widows and orphans, is prompted simply by a spirit of almsgiving It was not this spirit which inspired the erection of the numerous soldiers' homes throughout the country, where thousands of disabled veterans receive care and treatment, and the establishment of national cemeteries for the repose of heroic dust; nor was this the moving cause for the enactment of the various pension laws now upon the statute-book. These acts were prompted by patriotism, justice, and gratitude—to bestow benefactions on the living, benedictions on the dead.

Earnest objection has been made in some quarters to the act of June 27, 1890, known as the Disability Pension Law. This act is a broad departure from the principle of other laws granting pensions for disabilities. All the other laws restrict pensions to persons who incurred wounds and disabilities in the service and in line of duty, and to the widows and orphans or dependent parents of such persons. The incurrence of the disability in the service was the central fact in a claim, and the burden of proving this fact devolved upon the claimant.

The administration of the pension laws for twenty-five years developed the fact that hundreds of thousands of old soldiers who had served faithfully were now, and had been for years, seriously. disabled, but could not furnish the proof to show that their disabilities were of service origin. That they had followed the flag for four years and had never missed a battle, and were now seriously disabled, was not enough to warrant the granting of a pension. They were required to show that they had suffered from some injury or disease in the service to which the present disability could rightfully be attributed.

Observation and experience had demonstrated that military service, with its exposures, fatigues, and excitements, was a potent cause in destroying health and breaking down constitutions. When the services rendered in the great campaigns of the late war are recalled, it is not to be wondered at that the health and strength of the men were broken down.

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. Let us glance for a moment at the career of the Army of the Tennessee, composed of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Corps, as an illustration. The regiments of this army were mostly organized in 1861 and 1862. Some of them were in all the great battles of the western army. They were in Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia. They were at Belmont, Fort Henry, Donelson, Shiloh, the siege of Corinth, Iuka, the battle of Corinth, and Hatchee. They penetrated central Mississippi in the winter of 1862. They went down the Yazoo Pass in the spring of 1863. They crossed the Mississippi River below Vicksburg on May 1, 1863, and in twenty-two days had fought five battles, had laid siege to Vicksburg, and had assaulted the works. Failing in their attempt to capture the works by assault, they besieged the place until it surrendered on July 4, 1863. They immediately marched upon Jackson and dispersed General Johnston's army. They went by steamboat to Memphis, thence marched 300 miles to the relief of Chattanooga, and fought at Missionary Ridge. They immediately marched to the relief of Knoxville. They captured Meridian and destroyed its railroads. They were in the campaign against Atlanta; were one hundred days under fire and fought in its battles. They alone fought and defeated Hood's army July 22, when McPherson fell. They held Allatoona Pass and Resaca against Hood. They were on the great March to the Sea, fought at Griswoldville, and captured Fort McAllister. They entered Savannah about Christmas and rested three weeks. On January 16, 1865, they started on their last campaign through the Carolinas. It was winter. The first day they encountered a tremendous storm, which caused the greatest flood in the Savannah River in fifty years. Their camps were necessarily pitched in mud and water. The roads were almost impassable. They swam or bridged swollen streams; they overcame every impediment; they fought battles and drove the enemy before them, and finally witnessed the surrender of the rebel army under General Johnston.

They had first met this able general at Jackson, Miss., then in Georgia, and now, for the last time, in North Carolina. These men marched through Virginia and were in the great review at Washington. They fought under Grant, Sherman, McPherson, Logan, Howard, Dodge, Blair, and a host of able division and

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brigade commanders. Thousands of these men never crossed the threshold of a hospital, and yet but few of them who carried muskets are now able to undergo the fatigues of manual labor. It is not to be believed by intelligent men and women that the soldiers who endured these hardships and dangers came out of the service with unimpaired vitality.

The services of this army are a specimen of the services of all the armies. These mighty services were performed under the influence of a patriotic elation which wrought up the will and made nerves of steel; but when their labors were ended a reaction came, and with it that multitude of incurable ailments which have baffled the skill of the most learned physicians of the land.

Nearly all the great leaders in the war have died before their time, and the rank and file of the army are dropping off more rapidly than their neighbors of the same age. More than two out of seven of the survivors of the war have already died. A careful examination of the vital statistics of survivors of the late war has led to the conclusion that probably 600,000 of them were so impaired in health that they have lost at least twelve years of the usual expectation of life. The fact that hundreds of thousands of the survivors are poor, and unable to perform manual labor because of physical disabilities, is so well attested that it will not admit of dispute. The ranks of the army were filled by men who before their enlistment and after their discharge earned their living by labor. Good health was a prime factor with them in their struggle for subsistence. When that failed them, their capital was gone. They found that where the physical condition of a man is such that he cannot perform a full day's labor it is difficult for him to obtain employment. The procession of able-bodied men passed on and secured the best places, while these dropped behind and were compelled to accept such employment as they could get. This was the experience of thousands of old soldiers who in the days of their strength performed heroic service for the country.

All the facts in the case were duly considered by the last Congress, and it came to the relief of this deserving class of men and enacted the law of June 27, 1890, known as the Disability Pension Act. This law grants a pension of not less than $6 nor more than $12 per month to all honorably-discharged soldiers who served ninety days or more, and who are suffering from a

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mental or physical disability of a permanent character, not the result of their own vicious habits, which incapacitates them for the performance of manual labor in such degree as to render them unable to earn a support. It also grants a pension of $8 per month to the widows of deceased soldiers who are without other means of support than their daily labor, and $2 each per month to the children of soldiers under sixteen years of age. Pensions granted under this act begin with the date of filing the applications.

The execution of this law will no doubt dispose of a great mass of claims, filed under former laws, which have been pending for years. The allowance of claims under the rates fixed by this law has already reduced the average first payments on pension certificates from $485, the average of last year, to about $120, and the average monthly allowance to claimants now is less than $9.

The total payments for pensions this year will be about $116,000,000, being about $9,000,000 less than was estimated and appropriated for by Congress. The appropriation for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1891, is $127,670,793.89. This amount is believed to be sufficient for the next fiscal year. Taking into account the number of pensioners who will be dropped from the rolls by death and other causes, it is believed that 250,000 new pensions can be granted next year without creating a deficiency in the appropriation. It is also believed that the maximum number of names will be placed on the pension rolls during the fiscal year 1893; that the maximum annual expenditure for pensions will be made during that year, and that the amount will not reach $150,000,000. From that time forward there will be a reduction in the expenditure for pensions.

No fears need be entertained that it will be necessary to levy new taxes for the payment of pensions. All war taxes have been removed save those now levied through the internal-revenue office. Last year these taxes provided ample funds to pay the pensions and the interest on the national debt. These war taxes will suffice at all times to meet the necessary appropriations for existing pension legislation.

The men who fought to save the Union were not mercenaries. They did not preserve this country for the purpose of looting its treasury. They are to-day as earnestly devoted to the interests and prosperity of the country as they were from 1861 to 1865.

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They have no desire to see burdensome pension legislation which will require the levying of unjust and unnecessary taxation, and, above all, they do not propose by any action on their part to withdraw from the sympathetic touch of that body of their fellow-citizens who witnessed the great struggle for the Union, or of that generation of people who have come upon the stage of action since the war. They know that their services during the war merited the respect of their fellow-citizens, and by no act of theirs will they forfeit that respect while life lasts.

Thousands of these men ask for no pensions for themselves, but they do ask that their deserving comrades who are disabled shall have from the country a generous recognition of their services. They feel that an old soldier can receive a pension as a recognition of honorable service with a feeling of pride, while he would turn his back with shame upon an offer of charity.

One hundred years have elapsed since the Revolution, and we see a patriotic awakening among the descendants of the soldiers of that period in the organization of societies of Sons and Daughters of the Revolution. The respect of the American people for the men of '76 has not died out, and the descendants of those heroes trace with reverence and pride the record of the services of their ancestors in the pension office. Will the descendants of the heroes of the War for the Union one hundred years hence fail to exhibit an equal pride in the history of the services of their grandfathers? Methinks, as the time approaches for the celebration of the centennial of Appomattox, millions of people will proudly trace their lineage from those who served in that great war, and will venerate their ancestors' names all the more because they were pensioned for their honorable services.

The Bureau of Pensions is no doubt the largest executive bureau in the world. The office force consists of 2,009 persons, besides eighteen pension agents, with a clerical force of 419, and 3,795 examining surgeons stationed in various parts of the country; being a total force of 6,241. The force of the bureau is organized into fifteen divisions. Five of these divisions, with 1,391 clerks, adjudicate all claims, which are in turn reviewed by the board of review, with a force of 166 persons. These divisions pass upon the sufficiency of the evidence for the establishment of claims, while the medical division, with a force of 160 persons, decides all medical questions reported by boards of

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medical examiners, and fixes the degree of disability upon which the rate of pension is based. All claims are carefully briefed, and the action of the several divisions is noted upon the face of the brief.

No original claim is allowed without the action of the examiner in the adjudicating division and of a reviewer and re-reviewer in the board of review; and the action of these persons is under the constant supervision of the chiefs and assistant chiefs of their divisions. The adjudicating divisions are under the immediate direction of the two deputy commissioners, and the board of review and the medical division are under the immediate direction of the Commissioner, while the entire business of the bureau is, in turn, under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, assisted by one of his assistant secretaries, with a board of appeals in the department for the reëxamination of cases appealed from the decision of the Commissioner. The whole business of the office is conducted according to well-established rules.

At this writing (June 13) there are 119,815 cases which have been drawn from the files and are in the hands of the various divisions undergoing necessary action for their adjudication and allowance, while there are 28,023 cases which have been allowed and are in process of having certificates written and forwarded for payment. This great movement of cases is kept up, so that at this time there are 30,000 cases per month allowed. Calls for evidence are made in 85,000 cases per month, and orders for medical examinations in 45,000 cases. When cases are completed and notice is given, they are immediately withdrawn from the files for adjudication. The average monthly mail of the office is 600,000 pieces, each of which is duly acknowledged.

There are now pending 168,975 soldiers' and 93,949 widows' original claims under the old laws; 135,611 of these soldiers and 73,982 of these widows have filed claims under the Disability Bill in connection with the above claims. There are 300,810 claims for increase of pensions pending; 179,214 soldiers' and 59,960 widows' original claims pending under the Disability Bill; also 77,180 claims in cases where pensions have been granted under other laws; and there are 5,418 claims based on military service prior to 1861. The total number of claims pending is 1,095,099. The actual number of original claimants who have not been pensioned is: soldiers, 348,189; widows, 153,909; old war, 5,418; total,

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507,516. All other claims are for increase of pensions already granted or duplicate claims under other laws.

It is estimated that 1,208,707 soldiers of the Union are now living, and that 1,004,658 soldiers were killed in battle and died during and since the war. Of these survivors 478,356 are now on the pension rolls, and 120,522 widows and dependents are on the rolls. So it appears that 730,451 survivors are not pensioned, and 884,136 deceased soldiers are not now represented on the pension rolls.

At the close of the war, when the country was staggering under a great weight of debt and taxation, the men who controlled the legislation of the country did not decline to provide for the payment of the public debt because it was large. Such action would have been both cowardly and dishonest. On the contrary, they faced the great problem with courage and solved it with wisdom and honor. They amended the constitution of the United States, and in amendment XIV., section 4, it is declared that "the validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned."

Here is a solemn constitutional recognition of the right of these soldiers to pensions, and of the duty of Congress to enact suitable laws granting the same. This amendment recognizes and protects two great classes of financial obligations. The one is to those who held the securities of the government issued to raise money to carry on the war; the other is to those who took the personal risks of war and whose patriotism and valor saved the Union. The heroism of the men in arms made the great cause triumphant, and by their success converted the depreciated obligations held by public creditors into glittering gold; and now when this mighty obligation of the old soldiers has matured, because of their infirmities and their weight of years, shall it be denied them because the sum is large?

In 1865 the interest charge upon the public debt was nearly $151,500,000, and the pensions were $8,500,000; an aggregate of $160,000,000. The public creditor expected his interest, and it was paid by the people without abatement. The population was then 35,000,000, and this annual charge of interest and pensions was $4.57 per capita. The public debt is now almost paid. It is

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no longer a burden. The bondholders have received $2,600,179,000 in interest and premiums since July 1, 1861. The pensioners have received $1,284,716,000. The present interest charge for 1891 is $36,408,000, and the pensions for this year will cost $116,000,000, or an annual aggregate of interest and pensions of $152,408,000. We now have a population of 63,000,000 ; so that this annual expense of interest and pensions is $2.44 per capita.

The gratitude of this nation to its defenders should be measured by the value of the service rendered and the financial ability of this people to respond to the demands of just pension legislation.

When the War of the Rebellion closed, the public debt amounted to about one-tenth of the wealth of the country. Now it amounts to about one-fiftieth. Then the public debt was $63.50 per capita. Now it is $9.75 per capita. A new nation of 30,000,000 has been added to the population. The States now span the continent, and are traversed from ocean to ocean by great lines of railroad. There were none when the war closed. This country is now the grandest on earth. It is great in its territory and in its natural productions; great in a mighty, free, homogeneous, law-abiding people; great in its system of free government and the loyalty of its people to their institutions; great in its progress, its productions, and its accumulated wealth, and great in the friendship of other peoples, and in their confidence and respect.

The generation of people who have come upon the stage of action since the war closed should understand that the blessings of peace and prosperity now enjoyed by the people of the United States are due to the patriotism and valor of the soldiers of the Union. These men met and overcame the greatest rebellion the world ever saw. The stake for which they contended was the greatest ever submitted to the arbitration of arms. They maintained the political unity of a country which God had made for one people. They solved the mooted question of man's capacity for self-government. They broke all the fetters of slavery. These men will pass away as a tale that is told, but their work will endure forever.

GREEN B. RAUM.

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HOW TO REST.

BY WILLIAM A. HAMMOND, M. D., SURGEON-GENERAL, U. S. ARMY (RETIRED).

WHILE it is true that wealthy and well-to-do Americans require more rest for their wearied minds and bodies than do any other people in the world, it is equally certain that they almost uniformly fail to meet the necessities of the system in this respect.

After eight months of the year passed in exciting occupations or extravagant dissipations, they begin to talk of relaxation and repose, and straightway make preparations for a change of base, deceiving themselves with the idea that they are contemplating rest, while in reality intending to seek fresh fields on which to display their capacity for making money, and new varieties of pleasurable excesses on which to spend it. Such people have no idea of what rest really is. They seem to think that the one essential is change of air, and that if they go to the seashore or the mountains for three or four months in every year, it makes no difference how they employ their time while there, and that when they return to their ordinary routine of town or city life, they are completely fortified against the ill consequences of any excesses, whether of business or pleasure, into which they choose to plunge.

Now, change of air may be a very good thing, or it may not. A great many persons, so far from being benefited by it, are soon made sensible of the fact that it does not agree with them. The healthiest people in the world, such as the Swiss, the Norwegians, or the Scotch Highlanders, never get any change of air except such as comes to them from the winds that blow over their native mountains; and the like is true of the people of a great many portions of our own country. Common-sense teaches us that change of air such as attends upon removing from a healthy to an unhealthy locality must be injurious.

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Still we may assume that the great majority of the people who give up their city life in the summer for the seashore or the mountains are not injured by the change of air. City air is generally about as bad as any that exists on the face of the globe, and it is scarcely possible for any one to be otherwise than benefited by getting out beyond the range of its influence.

But it is rest which we have to consider, and I propose to show that as it is ordinarily sought for in this country by the majority of the people who make the greatest pretensions of seeking it, it is almost, if not completely, unattainable by the methods they employ.

There are various kinds of rest. A person whose occupation is chiefly carried on by the use of his brain rests that organ when he changes his work to physical labor. Thus, a student who spends eight hours a day in intense mental application derives immense benefit, not only to his brain, but to his whole system, by a brisk walk of two or three hours or a like period employed in chopping wood. In such a case as this there is no complete rest for the body; it is simply a change of labor from one kind to another kind. It amounts to nothing more than a proper exercise for the mental and physical systems, and if accompanied with seven or eight hours' sleep and five or six hours for eating and amusement, might be carried on indefinitely in any ordinary healthy locality. The body does not require absolute rest, and, as a matter of fact, it never gets it; for even in sleep there is a not inconsiderable functional activity of various organs going on.

Such a student as I have referred to would receive great advantage from going to the woods, or the mountains, or the seashore for the summer, not to lie down in a hammock or to loll on the sand, but to take his books with him, preferably devoted to subjects different from those that he has studied in the city, and to exercise his muscles by rowing a boat or hunting for natural-history specimens on land or sea, instead of working in a gymnasium or walking up and down Broadway and Fifth Avenue. Such a person not only alters the character of his mental and physical labor, but he does it with such advantages as are to be derived from change of air and scene, and they are by no means inconsiderable.

Now, this is not rest: on the contrary, it is work, and very hard work, too; but no one can doubt that that student would return

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to his regular pursuits with a mind and body invigorated and capable of doing better things than when he left the city.

Suppose, on the other hand, after having worked hard with his brain and his muscles for nine or ten months, he concludes that he ought to have complete rest, and goes to some secluded spot where the air is unexceptionable, and passes his time in comparative mental and physical inaction. He reads trashy novels, talks with trashy men and women, swings lazily in a hammock, goes to bed at nine o'clock and gets up at nine in the morning, and returns to town with a surplus of adipose tissue and his mind and body enfeebled by disease. The mere act of getting into the traces again and resuming his work is irksome to him and is accomplished with difficulty. His mental faculties act imperfectly and the product of their labor lacks its usual finish. A slight amount of mental exertion makes his head ache; he turns to his wood-chopping or his gymnasium or his walks on Broadway or Fifth Avenue, and he finds that an amount of muscular exercise that he formerly endured with pleasure now makes him puff and blow and causes his muscles to ache. Many days elapse before he gets into the rut and all the organs of his body run smoothly again.

It is still worse with the ordinary man of business who has, at the same time, as he thinks, a position in society to maintain. What he seeks is some place within easy range of his financial or mercantile headquarters, and in which he and his family can continue the festivities of their city life. There is no essential alteration in their mode of existence except what they get from change of air and scene, and this does not necessarily imply rest. Letters and telegrams relating to business are received hourly. The Stock-Exchange quotations, the state of the markets, come as systematically to Newport or Saratoga as they do to Wall Street or Broadway. The mind pursues its endless course of speculation as to the increase or loss of wealth. The dinners, the balls, are as elegant and as frequent as they were when the family occupied their mansion in Fifth Avenue.

The requirements of fashion as regards dress are quite as rigorous as they were during the winter at the height of the city season, if not more so, and fully as much time is taken from that which ought to be devoted to sleep in order that both body and mind may be recuperated. Is it a wonder, therefore, that

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the men and women who pursue this sort of life, in which there is a ceaseless round of business and dissipation, should be worn and haggard, be nervous and hysterical, the victims of nervous prostration, ceasing to live long before they have attained to the "three score and ten years" which the Bible allots as the ordinary span of human life?

The fact is that the average American is incapable of self-amusement. He requires to be entertained; he is essentially gregarious; the idea of going into the woods or to the seashore or the mountains by himself, or at most with a congenial companion, is in the highest degree repugnant to him. He loathes that privacy and seclusion from the eyes of his fellows which it would appear every well-ordered person ought to desire. He likes glare and excitement and turmoil and noise. When he goes into a sedately-lighted room, in which he only wishes to sit down and rock to and fro with a cigar in his mouth, the first thing he does is to turn on all the light. A quiet town, one suited for repose of mind, he speaks of as a "graveyard." He wants to be in the "swim," as he calls it, all the time. A day without his newspaper in which he can read of the state of the markets, and of all the crimes and scandals which have occurred throughout the world in the past twenty-four hours, is to him a day lost.

It is true that matters are different with those who are not in business for themselves, but who are working for others. When they take a holiday, they leave their business behind them and spend the two or three weeks allowed them in actual recreation. They are not going to bother themselves with the state of the markets. It does not concern them especially whether New York Central falls or rises a point or two, and when they come back to their stuffy little offices, in which the light of day has to be eked out with gas or electricity, they can talk of the tramps they have had in the Adirondacks or of the bluefish they have caught in the Great South Bay. However, with very many young Americans the time comes when they feel that they must shake off the trammels which bind them to another man's service, and then it is that the natural process of decay, which exists in all of us, acquires the greatest degree of rapidity in them, for they rush at once into the mode of life which their business superiors have followed and upon which they have long been eagerly waiting to enter.

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With women in what may be called the higher walks of life it is even worse than it is with men, for there is almost nothing to which they can turn for amusement or employment outside of the frivolities of society. Their education is so conducted that when they leave school they have a smattering of a good many things, but a solid, substantial knowledge of almost nothing. How many so-called society women did any one ever see who could take a paper-pad and a pencil and go out into the fields and sketch from nature? And yet there is scarcely a well-bred English woman who cannot do this, and do it well. How many have anything more than the most superficial knowledge of music, and do we not know that even this is forgotten as soon as they leave school? How many of them know anything of English literature, or of any other literature except that evanescent French variety which, from their imperfect knowledge of the language, they can barely comprehend, and which it would be better for them not to know at all? For such people there is really nothing else than to go from the dinners, balls, and parties of the city to the dinners, balls, and parties of Newport or other fashionable summer resorts. Excitement of some kind they must have. Without it life is a burden to them.

In short, a man or a woman is to be managed in respect to rest in very much the same way that a farmer manages his field. The latter knows the advantage of a succession of crops. He knows that if he plants cabbages every successive year in the same piece of ground, he will, in a short time, have very poor cabbages and very poor ground; whereas, by changing from one thing to another, the product is better and the earth is not deteriorated. He knows also how much his land is improved by allowing it to lie fallow every now and then. Men and women, like the fields of the earth, require change, and, like them, they require rest; and these objects can never be attained in the way that the average American sets out to get them.

WILLIAM A. HAMMOND.

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THE NEW POLITICAL PARTY.

BY THE HON. SYLVESTER PENNOYER, GOVERNOR OF OREGON.

THE wonderful shaking of dry bones, and the more wonderful appearance of that "exceeding great army" which the prophet of the Almighty beheld about twenty-five centuries ago, after the soft breath of the four winds had passed over the open valley which lay at his feet, have almost been rivalled by the sudden appearance of a new party within the national political arena; with this difference, however—that the shaking of dry bones did not precede, but will follow, its advent. It is an instructive study, not, however, embraced in the purpose of this article, to trace the origin and growth of political parties in this country. It will be ascertained that whatever party appeals most to the sense of justice, and stands most prominently as the defender of the rights of the weak and oppressed, will sooner or later triumph in spite of what seemed at its formation insurmountable obstacles. And this fact goes to the credit side of our national character. Is there a necessity for a new political party in our government at this time? The answer is plain, and it will spring simultaneously from the lips of every honest man. There is a necessity for a new party if there be flagrant governmental abuses which are unnoticed and popular demands for justice which are unheeded by the existing political organizations. Are there such? Let the records answer.

The existing political organizations have been engaged for several years in a chivalric contest over the per cent. of tariff taxes which should be laid upon certain articles of import, and attention has been closely riveted to such warfare, having thereby been adroitly led away from the consideration of much graver abuses.

In the last presidential canvass, for instance, the discussion was cunningly confined to the tariff, while other abuses, tenfold more baneful in their results upon the national prosperity, were entirely unnoticed. Neither party opposed the inequitable tariff system itself, the most unjust and unequal mode of taxation ever devised by the ingenuity of man, and neither party opposed that most pernicious adjustment of the system by which the great masses of

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the people are taxed, by the levy of protective duties, for the benefit of one or more particular industries. Both parties were pledged to the tariff system and to its protective feature; the one by its record and its platform, and the other by the bill then pending in Congress. The sole issue which engaged the attention of a great nation of more than sixty millions of people was whether, in the distribution of favors by a protective tariff, the producer should share the spoils with the manufacturer; one party claiming that the robbery of the consuming public by the tariff should be shared by the producer as well as the manufacturer, while the other party claimed that public interest demanded that such robbery in behalf of the producer should cease, and that it should be sanctioned alone for the benefit of the manufacturer.

And thus the ability of our statesmen and the attention of our people were centred exclusively upon the particular amount of the mint, anise, and cummin extorted by tariff taxation from the overburdened taxpayer that should go to the government and upon the particular amount that should go to the favored industries, while the weightier matters—the oppression of the people by the pernicious tariff system itself, as well as by a number of other equally indefensible instrumentalities—were entirely ignored. The great cormorants of aggrandized capital and of corporate power, which are now preying upon the very vitals of all of the industries of our national commonwealth, are, indeed, well pleased when public attention can thus be diverted from their wholesale plunder of our people to the far smaller plunder involved by any particular arrangement of tariff duties. Those statesmen, so-called, the scope of whose vision is inadequate to the discovery of any governmental abuses except those inflicted by some objectionable adjustment of our tariff laws, are, although perhaps unwittingly, the most serviceable stool-pigeons of corporate and capitalistic power, inasmuch as they draw attention exclusively to the wrongs of the tariff robbery, thus leaving these greater public robbers free scope to continue their unstinted pillage both of the public treasury and of private pockets.

The existing parties themselves are responsible for the formation of this new political organization. For the last quarter of a century the natural evolutions of national life, as well as the legitimate results of pernicious legislation, have propelled new questions of paramount interest into prominence; and yet neither

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party has had the courage to voice the public conscience upon such questions, while both parties, with ears deaf to the popular demand, have been laboriously engaged in their old and tiresome game of battledore and shuttlecock upon the tariff.

There has been a popular demand for an income tax, heretofore almost unwritten and unspoken, and yet as widespread as the national limits and as universally entertained among the masses of the people as is the demand for right, for the reason that there is not one single citizen of this republic whose sense of justice does not impel him to declare that the wealth of the country, now entirely exempted from taxation by the federal government, should bear its just proportion of the public burden. And there has been equally as strong a protest of the great masses of the people against the flagrant injustice of our financial policy by which a favored class, enriched at the people's expense by the operation of statute laws, has been allowed, unrestricted by law, to use its ill-gotten wealth to still further batten upon the public. Both the demand and the protest have been entirely unheeded by the present political parties, and hence the new organization.

There have been, and there are now, several other governmental abuses and derelictions for which the two old parties are responsible. Among them are the granting to private corporations the loan of millions of money and vast empires of land for the building of railroads, which, when built, are permitted to exact excessive charges from the people; the usurpation of a governmental function by a private corporation in the transmission of intelligence without restrictions of law upon its charges against the government itself, as well as against the people; the usurped interference by the federal judiciary, within the States, with their laws and tribunals; the degradation of one of the precious metals and the denial of its free coinage by Congress, thus imposing an unexpected hardship upon the States, to which, under the constitution, is denied the privilege of coining money, while they are restricted, at the same time, to the use of gold and silver as legal-tender; but far above any of these in importance are the entire exemption of the wealth of the country, as such, from federal taxation, which can be remedied by the imposition of a graduated income tax, and the faulty and almost criminal financial policy of the government, through which the wealth of our people has been transferred from the pockets of the many to the vaults of the

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few, and the federal treasury controlled and used in the interest of bondholders and stock-jobbers. The present financial system of the government is the worst of existing national abuses, and to remedy this is justly the rallying cry of the new political party.

It is, indeed, most probable, if the Democratic party had kept true to its ancient faith, that the new party would never have come into existence, inasmuch as the former would have, to a great extent, voiced the popular demands. In its earlier and better days it was in all verity a "people's party." It was inflexibly opposed to the aggrandizement of both governmental and capitalistic power. The national Democratic platform of 1856 declared the sentiments of the party upon its financial policy—and it was the reiteration of former platforms—as follows :

"That Congress has no power to charter a national bank ; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and will of the people ;" "that the separation of the money of the government from banking institutions is indispensable for the safety of the funds and the rights of the people."

Thus it will be seen that if that party had adhered to the faith of its founders it would have answered the widespread demand for the abrogation of the present financial policy of the government, and if, in obedience to its instincts, it had moved forward, defiant, as of yore, of the money power, in support of the fiscal system, now demanded by justice, reason, and the popular will, of basing the required paper currency of the country upon its tangible and imperishable real property, for the benefit of the many, instead of on the national indebtedness, for the enrichment of the few, it would to-day be what it was for more than a half-century of its existence—the faithful tribune of the whole people.

It is upon the trend of its financial policy mainly that the new party responds to the necessity of the times and complies with the demands of the people, and it is therefore of the most urgent importance that such a policy should be entirely unassailable both as to its justice and its practical operation. The demand for an entire change in the fiscal system of the government is widespread. It has been occasioned by the flagrant injustice of the present system, and by the impoverishment of the many for the enrichment of the few which is the legitimate result of its operations.

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The mutterings of discontent, although heretofore disregarded, have been universal. They could find no expression in the platform of any existing political party, and therefore have been contemned as well as unheeded. These mutterings have at length found voice in a new political organization, and their long-pent-up expression will undoubtedly be the great slogan of the coming presidential contest. Hence it is of the most vital concern to the party itself, as well as to the people whose interests it would subserve, that its financial policy should be one that can be defended upon the grounds of justice, of public necessity, and of business principles. If such a policy can be formulated, the young stripling of a party will win to its following the honest-hearted yeomanry of the whole country, and may achieve a political victory unrivalled in this country for more than half a century past.

In the first place, therefore, the currency which is proposed to be issued should be based upon a perfectly secure and imperishable foundation, and should be a legal-tender for all debts, public and private. Such a basis can only be furnished by the real property of the country. To accept personal security, or any other security than the improved real property of the country, would be to hazard the loan; which the government, in the interest of the whole people, poor as well as rich, cannot justly do. There can be no better or safer security for a government loan than the real property of the nation. If the loan is placed upon such property at one-half or one-third of its real value, it is as secure as the government itself, and the currency based upon such a loan is as good as a government bond or gold and silver.

The main argument against such a policy is based upon its supposed impracticability. This has been answered by stubborn facts. The State of Oregon has now more than two million dollars of school money loaned out upon the improved farm property of the State. The amount of the loan is fixed at one-third of the fairly-appraised value of the farm. The entire management of the loan is confided to the State School Land Board, consisting of the Governor, Secretary of State, and State Treasurer, and is without any cost to the State other than that involved in the salaries paid to the members of the board for their entire official duties, amounting in all to $3,800 per annum. The applicant pays for the examination of the title to his land and its appraisement by the attorney of the board for the county in which the land is situated. The machinery is per-

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fect and comparatively inexpensive, and the security the best in the world. The loans for the whole State are made by the State Board at the capital, and the distribution of funds throughout the State is fairly made. This system has been a blessing to Oregon farmers, and it may be a blessing to the farmers of the whole country by demonstrating the entire feasibility of loaning government money upon the improved real property of the country.

The next question of importance evolved by the proposed financial system is: How shall the money be procured by the government for making such a loan? If required, it could and would be procured as it was in order to carry on the late war, but the amount to be provided would to a great extent depend upon the exact conditions of the fiscal policy to be established.

If the loans were made to the people upon improved real property at the rate not exceeding 4 per cent., and the currency for such loans, as well as gold and silver, was changeable at will into government treasury notes or bonds bearing interest not exceeding 3 per cent., the result would undoubtedly be that the issuance of not nearly so much currency would be required as would be if no such provision for funding it was made, inasmuch as investors in government securities would largely furnish the required amount. If a policy be adopted of changing the currency into bonds, and the bonds into currency, at the will of the holder of either, under the necessary restrictions, the whole financial business of the country could be adjusted to the proposed system without any greater enlargement of the volume of the currency of the country than its actual business requirements demand. Such a policy would place the currency of the nation upon the safest foundation possible, and would entirely preclude those extremes of contraction and expansion so hurtful to business interests; for if there should be in circulation more money than could be advantageously used, it would seek investment in government securities, while, if there should be an urgent need for more, the bonds would be changed into currency.

The loaning of money by the government at 4 per cent. would at once fix that rate throughout the country without any other or further legislation, and the capital now employed at ruinous rates of interest as leeches upon the people, thereby exhausting the life-blood from all of our industrial pursuits, would, by the conditions confronting it, be invested to a large extent in govern-

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ment securities, thereby furnishing a portion of the currency required, or, if not so invested, it would be compelled to seek out new enterprises for its employment. Thus the accumulated wealth of our plethoric capitalists, now overburdening our national industries with its ruinous exactions, checked in its unlicensed power, would patiently and effectively subserve the common weal.

The inauguration of such a fiscal policy would open a new and brighter era in the history of our country. The vast and rapid accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few and the impoverishment of the many by the excessive rates charged for the use of money would at once cease, and, money, being cheap, would open up new avenues of industry and give renewed impetus to trade and increased employment to labor, and, being stable in value and sufficient in volume, would impart security to every enterprise and fair remuneration to every laudable calling. And thus would the general government at last fulfil its constitutional duty to the people by regulating the value of money, which it has never yet done, and never can fully do until by some such means as is proposed it regulates the interest which it shall bear. The fixing of rates of interest on money regulates, in the main, its value. The only class that would not be pecuniarily benefited by the adoption of such a fiscal system would be that class that has been enriched by the existing financial policy of the government, and that is with its ill-gotten wealth sucking the life-blood from the industrial classes of the country by the excessive rates of interest now prevailing, and by the contraction and expansion of currency it is instrumental in producing for its own benefit.

But even that class would in the end be benefited. It would not proceed long in its present way. Such a colossal aggregation of wealth by the few for the next quarter of a century as has marked the last quarter would precipitate a revolution. The impoverished and starving masses, impelled by the privation and hunger of their wives and children, would, like tortured beasts, at last turn and rend the supposed cause of their miseries. The plain alternative presented to that class and to the whole people of this country, so far as our financial system is concerned, is reform or revolution. And whatsoever party shall bring about the needed reformation in the fiscal policy of the government will secure the favor of a just God and the support of a grateful people.

SYLVESTER PENNOYER.

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TRADES-UNIONS FOR WOMEN.

BY LADY DILKE.

THE history of trades-unionism among women in England is the history of the Women's Trades-Union League, and that history ought to have a special claim on the attention of American readers, since the organization of the league in 1874 was undertaken in avowed imitation of the "friendly societies" for women which had already, it was said, done much for the working classes in the United States. I first heard of these societies from a woman named Emma Smith (afterwards Mrs. Paterson), a printer by trade. In her capacity of secretary to an organization for the promotion of women's suffrage, Emma told me she had listened to many flaming speeches from women's-rights' partisans, and had sat under many fair American orators; but of all this talk one thing only had made a deep impression on her, and that was an account of certain "friendly" societies given in her hearing by one of these ladies. So Emma spent her savings on a journey to America, and on her return to England founded the league now known throughout the land as the Women's Trades-Union League.

In those days none dared speak bravely of trades-unionism; it was something which meant, to the common ear, deeds of violence, of darkness, and the use of illegal or even criminal methods, synonymous with the destruction of property and life, whilst to the more educated it was an irremissible sin against the inspired ordinances of "political economy." When, therefore, Emma Smith came back from the States and called on her friends to support her scheme for helping working women to help themselves, they one and all insisted that the society should be christened in such wise as would not suggest, to the casual hearer, its true character. So it came about that we hit on the title Pro-

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tective and Provident League. It was not till about four years ago that our friends gathered courage sufficient to substitute the word "Trades-Union" for the adjective "Protective." Since then, indeed, things have gone so fast that "Provident" has followed suit, and our old friend the Protective and Provident League now stands honestly confessed as a league for the promotion of trades-unions amongst women.

In connection with this change I well remember an amusing incident which occurred during our early years, and which illustrates the necessity for what may now seem absurd precautions, as well as the uselessness of such prudential blinds except in the case of the general public. It was intended to start what was euphuistically termed a "society" amongst the women employed in a factory in a provincial English town, and a meeting was called in which many of the leading inhabitants, noted for their general philanthropy, were expected to take part. One of our friends announced with great triumph, just before the proceedings commenced, that she had captured a university professor, —a professor, indeed, of logic,—and she added that he had not only said he would attend, but had also promised a donation toward the expenses of starting the good work. When, however, Emma Paterson had finished her little explanatory speech, the professor cried out aghast: "Why, this is trades-unionism! I can have nothing to do with you; you are trying to violate the laws of political economy!" So the professor withdrew his subscription and himself. He was quite ready to give money in charity,—that is, as a voluntary rate in aid of insufficient wages,—but he regarded as criminal any attempt to enable these suffering women to obtain by combination better remuneration for labor carried on under conditions which constituted a danger to society.

Since those days the little league has made steady progress, working without encouragement against almost overwhelming odds, but within the last two years it has profited greatly by the public attention which has been drawn to labor questions generally. The sympathy which was accorded to the "dockers" has since been widely extended to various other forms of underpaid labor, and of these women may certainly claim to have more than their full share. What is called the "new unionism," which first attracted notice during the struggle at the docks, appears, on examination, to be but the old unionism proceeding by more

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hazardous and sensational methods; yet it has done good service to the cause, and especially to the cause which the Women's Trades-Union League has in hand, in two ways. In the first place, by appealing to the element of sentiment which always plays so large a part in the decisions of the British public, the "new" unionism has struck a great blow at the root of the prejudice which has long lingered against combination for any but "friendly" purposes; and, in the second, it has shown that it is possible to organize with effect—if only for a time—the least skilled and the most underpaid forms of labor; that is to say, it has touched the very classes amongst which the league is most desirous of promoting combination.

The success which crowned the famous strike inspired our friends with fresh confidence, whilst the notoriety given in the daily press to facts concerning the conditions of the lowest forms of modern industry—to which for years past the league has been vainly calling public attention—has procured for us an amount of sympathy and support which we had well-nigh despaired of obtaining. Even those who would still continue to deny to men the right of organization, change their tone when speaking of women, and are content to make an arbitrary distinction wherever they are concerned. Women, they will now tell us, must be regarded as standing on a wholly different footing to men: translated into plain English this means, I take it, that they are, in fact, so helpless and oppressed that no amount of organization can ever enable them to hold their own, much less take the offensive successfully as men have done. The league has, therefore, recently received considerable support even from the most orthodox section of the British middle class, and this support it has done its best to deserve by the mingled prudence and resolution with which it has steered its course in the past; for, whilst always ready to act with determination, whenever there is clear occasion for it, in the protection of the interests of working women, it has as steadily striven, wherever possible, to avoid those extreme courses which may be a good advertisement, but which too often have the most disastrous results for the interests of those concerned.

At a critical moment, about two years ago, the secretary of the league, Miss Black, who had succeeded to Mrs. Paterson's labors, and who had done good service to the cause by her

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speeches and writings, transferred her services to a newer organization, which, being under the patronage of Mr. Champion and Mr. Burns, seemed likely to secure a larger measure of popular support. It was then feared that the elder society might suffer in consequence, and its friends felt some apprehension as to its future; but the vacant place was instantly filled by Miss Florence Routledge, half-sister of Mr. Edmund Routledge, the well-known publisher, and she has discharged the duties of the post with such marked ability and energy that the league, then languishing, has taken a fresh lease of life and is slowly spreading its influence throughout the United Kingdom. Within the last year, under Miss Routledge's superintendence, the work of disseminating the principles of trades-unionism has been systematized, and also vastly extended by a scheme of affiliation which grew out of the experience gathered in some country tours, undertaken by members of the committee, in different districts which it was desired to organize. Everywhere—even in places where the appeal to women to unite had seemed most successful—it was found that the enthusiasm aroused by the presence of the visitors from London failed or died away amongst the difficulties which had to be encountered in founding or carrying on the union after their departure. Sometimes the men unionists in the district were ready and able to help the women, but the women were afraid to trust themselves in their hands; sometimes the women relapsed from fear (often groundless) of their employers; and sometimes they dropped away solely because there seemed no immediate benefit to be derived from the self-denying thrift which would alone enable them to keep up their union contributions. "The men in Hawick," writes a friend to Miss Routledge, "are in despair as to the organization of the women; the numbers in their union have sunk again to a hundred. Of the thirty-six who sent in their names when you were here in March, only fourteen have turned out paying members."

Disappointments of this kind it has, however, seemed possible to prevent, either by authorizing delegates to spend several weeks in each district, or by undertaking that the speakers sent to organize, in the first instance, should revisit their converts within a stated time. It was clearly impossible that the league, with its limited staff, should permit its delegates to devote many weeks to

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any one place, but the committee thought it feasible to arrange for periodical visits by systematizing and regulating the expeditions which the members were already in the habit of carrying out. It was therefore decided that any union composed of women, or admitting women as members, having previously satisfied the league of its sound financial condition, should be admitted as an affiliated union, being entitled, on condition of paying a small annual contribution to the funds of the league, to certain rights and privileges, amongst which was that of receiving a visit, once a year, from the secretary or other member of the committee. With this object it was further decided that two annual tours should be mapped out and carried through in spring and autumn, by means of which it was hoped that new unions would be formed and old ones strengthened and stimulated to increasing exertions.

In this connection it will be seen that public agitation is necessarily a prominent part of the programme of the league. A few months after the present honorable secretary took up the duties of her post, the committee, feeling that this part of their duties had hitherto been somewhat neglected, requested her to place herself in communication with every trades council existing in districts where women were largely employed. The result of this step at once showed that, even where the women were apathetic, the men in the trades were fully aware of the danger that disorganized labor, whether male or female, was to their own standing in the market. From every large centre of women's industry came the cry: "Our women are not properly organized; we can do nothing with them. Come and see if you can help us!" From the far north of Scotland, from the linen mills of Ireland, we have heard repeated the same story that is echoing from the forges of Staffordshire or the looms of Lancashire and Yorkshire. "The women," say the men, "are doing men's work at half-pay; they are driving us from the trades: we would stop their working if we could; but as we can't, help us to organize them at once, lest worse befall us." Not philanthropy, but self-interest, is awake, and is forcing rapidly forward the extension and application to women's labor of those principles on which men, to a large extent, have managed to protect their own. It is well known, for example, that in every district in which the weaving trades are carried on the labor of women has been supplanting the labor of men, not because they work better, but

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because they work more cheaply. In other trades, as, for example, amongst the chain- and nail-makers, we find wives and daughters in active competition with their husbands and fathers, engaged, as Mr. Burnett forcibly put it in his report of 1888, "in dragging down their wages to still lower levels." It is plain that this condition of things can be turned to account and is too often turned to account by unscrupulous employers, so that it constitutes a menace to the industry of men. And when we pass from the factory to the "domestic workshop," whether it be in the sweaters' den in Whitechapel or at the hearth-forges of Halesowen and Cradley Heath, we find all such evils intensified, for domestic labor isolates the workers and renders well-nigh impossible that common understanding and unity of effort which are now necessary to the regulation of the trades.

The most promising field for trades-unionism is, therefore, to be found in districts such as Lancashire, where the women are working in great factories; and the least hopeful to deal with are places like Birmingham, where their labor for the most part is subdivided and they are broken up into twos and threes. Numbers as small as these will often be found working for sweaters in the sham-jewelry trade. Thus it comes to pass, as we should naturally expect, that the highest numbers of women unionists are to be counted in such organizations as that of the Northern Counties' Weavers' Association, a society numbering nearly 47,000 members, of whom 26,000 are women. Mr. Birtwhistle, to whose kindness I am indebted for these figures, adds: "There are other associations of weavers, not directly connected with this amalgamation, which will swell the numbers up to 65,000, in which women will bear the same proportion." The membership of the Card- and Blowing-Rooms Amalgamated Association, at Manchester, shows also a good two-thirds women and girls out of a total of about 14,000, and this proportion is preserved, with few exceptions, in other centres of the textile industries, where the unions are energetically and ably managed by the men, who are fellow-laborers with the women. As soon as we come to the iron and hardware trades, the results are not so good. In the chain trade, for instance, the women are fairly well organized, thanks to the efforts of Mr. Juggins and Mr. Smith; but in the spike-nail trade, although the union has secured for them an advance of 35 per cent., the greatest difficulty is experienced in keeping them in the society, whilst of those employed in

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the screwing department connected with the nut and bolt trade it may be said that they have never been organized at all. The Midland Counties' Trade Federation, which has made great efforts to organize the districts in which these industries are carried on, has been, in fact, so seriously hampered by the large proportion of home labor affecting the general conditions of these trades that it has not reaped anything like the harvest which it had a right to expect from the very considerable sacrifices of time and money which it has made in the cause of the organization of female labor. Nothing daunted, however, by past failure, the federation is still steadily working, and it is hoped that the delegates of the league may be able to arouse the women and induce them to profit by the help now so freely offered.

The poorest result, at least in point of numbers, is shown when we come to look over the lists of unions formed and managed entirely by women themselves. In London there are some fifteen or sixteen formed by the league alone, and I would put their total membership at something under 2,000, for hardly any single union counts more than 200 members. The Laundresses' Union reckons, indeed, from 400 to 500, but this figure is made up from several different branches; the excellent Bookbinders' Union has but 200, and some, such as that of the shirt- and collar-makers, drop much lower. From all the inquiries which I have made I am inclined to think that the situation is much the same throughout the country, and is everywhere due to pretty much the same causes. In the first place, where the staple labor in any trade is that of women, and enters, as in the textile trades, into direct competition with the labor of men, it is worth the while of the men to take up their organization; but where the women are not an appreciable factor, or where the trade, as shirt- and collar-making, is entirely in their own hands, they are left to their sole resources. Now, women, as a rule, are "slack" officials and do not understand "working up" a society: not only so, but the trades which are left wholly to them are the little trades, underpaid trades, and trades carried on, to a great extent, in small workshops and by home labor.

Under these circumstances, it is sometimes asked whether, given the great difficulty of finding trained organizers and agitators amongst working women, it would not be, on the whole, wiser for the league to confine itself to inducing women to enter

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unions established and managed by men. This is, indeed, the course to which the committee inclines : it is only when there is no existing union managed by men, or the existing union closes its doors to women, or the women are working in a trade in which they alone are employed, that the league urges the formation of an independent society. It is obviously better for women and better for the state that their industrial position, whenever possible, should be dealt with as but a part of the general problem, and that their organization should be as little as possible dissociated from the organization of the men. Unfortunately, the men do not often take sufficient pains to develop the business powers of the women who enter their unions, nor do they give them adequate representation in their management : the education of the women does not advance ; and in one case, where great difficulties had arisen, and application for advice had been made to the league, it was found necessary, in order to give the women a chance for life, to recommend that they should be detached from the men's union and forced to manage their own business for themselves.

This was, however, an extreme case. As a rule the situation may be described in the words of Mr. Birtwhistle writing to me of the constitution of the Northern Counties' Weavers' Association. "Females," he says, "take no part in the management, although we do not prohibit them from doing so ; on the contrary, we have on several occasions endeavored to induce them to do so, but have failed." Yet it must be remembered that men in dealing with their women members are at present at a great disadvantage : one of the most capable and experienced of men unionists in the kingdom, after addressing a large meeting of women, turned round to me and said: "It is very strange, somehow ; say what we will we cannot get at these women." He forgot that the women had been for so long treated as a class apart, and as an inferior class, that they naturally distrusted the good intentions of men, whom they had been led to regard only as rivals.

For the present, therefore, both because there are many women's trades to organize, and because the training in separate unions is a useful education for them, it is necessary to carry on the work on a double system ; but the growing tendency to unite —wherever trade conditions permit—various groups of workers in a single society seems likely, in the future, to afford a way out of our present difficulties. The strong caste feeling, which even

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more than the pressure of trade exigencies has determined the separate organization of men's unions hitherto, has prevailed with more than equal force amongst women. In the past it has been found impossible—except in individual instances—to induce women working in what may be called established trades of a well-paid and socially-respectable character, to join hands with those less fortunate and less skilled; consequently it was of no use to look to them for the help by which the half-starved rank and file who belong to the odd trades might be moved and brought up to the level at which union becomes practical. The example which has been set in this direction, however, by the new unionism and the birth, under its auspices, of societies such as the Gas-Workers and General Laborers' Union, is already producing good effect, and the unions more recently organized by the league, as, for instance, the London Laundresses and General Working-Women's Amalgamated Association, have been founded on an equally wide basis.

The present pressure in this direction also necessarily affects the very constitution and character of these associations: whereas it was once a cardinal point of doctrine that all unions should have their benefit or friendly side, as well as their trade objects, and the contributions of the members were therefore based on a scale sufficient to meet calls of both descriptions, the effort to combine the worst-paid workers has brought about the abandonment in many cases of that "friendly" character to which the league has always attached great importance. It is, indeed, evidently useless, where you find women whose total weekly earnings never exceed five shillings, to ask them to pay contributions adequate to a double purpose until their wages have been brought above the starvation level. Hence it seems not unlikely that societies of the type of the Newcastle National Labor Federation, which attempts the combination of all classes of workers (men and women) for purely trade objects, and which is conducted on the lowest possible rate of contribution, have a prospect of great immediate usefulness before them. In fact, I am inclined to think that as these amalgamations increase in size their business will be more and more subdivided—that is, the unions which undertake the insurance and risks of trade disputes will leave sick-insurance, superannuation funds, insurance against casualties, and so forth, to other societies established with a view to one or more of these objects.

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Under the influence of these considerations, the league, whilst continuing to set a high value on the provident side of its work, has freely accepted the task of coöperation with societies of the new class, and in this it has the advantage of its peculiar position in that it represents no section of opinion, but, being solely concerned with the organization of working women, is free to work with any who are ready to forward their interests in this respect. Nothing, indeed, is more surprising to those who knew the position of this little society in its infancy than to look over the applications for help which now come in to the executive committee. This executive committee, on which every secretary properly accredited from a London women's union is allowed to sit and vote, transacts all its business in a shabby little den off Broad Street, Bloomsbury, which is dignified by the name "Industrial Hall." This "Hall" is the library, which is at the service of all women unionists on payment of a nominal fee; it is the secretary's only office, where she and her assistant, Miss Holyoake, sit daily. Meetings are held and even entertainments are given within its narrow four walls. Not, indeed, that the members would not thankfully accept premises better fitted for their work,—they are engaged at the present moment in raising funds for the building of a Women's Trades Hall,—but just now the members feel that whilst the scanty salary of the assistant secretary and all the expenses of the organizing work have to be found out of the precarious three hundred a year, which is the utmost received from the public even in a good year, it would not be right to indulge in the ordinary—some would say the indispensable—conveniences of a place of business.

It must be confessed that it would be impossible to do anything with such an income and such machinery, were it not for the self-sacrificing devotion of the chief officers. The honorary secretary, Miss Routledge, gives her services, and so does the treasurer, Miss Abraham, who gets through, in the course of the year, fully as much organizing work as does Miss Routledge herself. Furthermore, in addition to its luck in securing the unpaid services of its chief officers, the league has been fortunate in inspiring outsiders with something of the same zeal, and thus it contrives to get the cause taken up in districts apparently beyond its influence. Whenever, in town or country, any one is found willing to work, willing to accept responsibility, and fit to be

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trusted, the league wisely delegates authority, treats the new worker as a corresponding member, and refrains from interference. Thus, in the country, it reckons amongst its stanch supporters and good friends Mrs. Byles, of Bradford, and Miss Isabella Ford, of Leeds; and in London, in like manner, the work of organizing the match-box-makers of Shoreditch has been taken up by the generous action of Mrs. Reilly, a lady who, being occupied all day in a city office, gives her hard-won hours of leisure to the uphill work of nursing a union drawn from a class engaged in "home" labor. In another district we find a niece of His Eminence Cardinal Manning ready to devote herself to the equally difficult task of combining seamstresses, whilst a lady fresh from college honors is doing duty as general secretary for the laundresses.

This sort of service is, it must be remembered, of the dullest possible description; it is also the most valuable and the least easy to get. Ladies are often ready to help, but they can rarely help in the right way. They cannot understand how inexorable the work is in its demands on time, and that, if a Tuesday be the night fixed for meeting by a young society, then on Tuesdays all other claims, however pleasant or pressing, must be set aside. Once fail to attend and meet your women on their "office" night, and they will be dissatisfied; fail them twice, and symptoms of disorganization will show themselves, and will threaten results only to be averted by double the efforts and sacrifices needed in the first instance to keep the union on its feet. Hundreds of workers are wanted like the veteran Mrs. Ellis; or Miss Whyte, of the London bookbinders, who was the first to join Mrs. Paterson in her crusade; or Mrs. Hutchinson, the active secretary of the laundresses; or Miss Kate Taylor, of Glasgow, the first woman sent as a delegate from a trades council to the trades congress; for, although interest is awakened and is growing in the class which the league desires to reach, confidence is slow to come, and it will take years of labor spent in rousing and drilling the "awkward squads" before we are likely to see an increase of unionism amongst women at all proportionate to its growth amongst men. Nevertheless, this need not discourage us. Men have been years in organizing, and there are peculiar difficulties in the way of women. The responsible officials of a trades-union must not only be acquainted with the conditions of labor, but must also have initiative and force

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sufficient to deal with those conditions successfully. However willing the men may be to call women to their side, we must recognize the fact that the labor of the latter has been, as a rule, of too dependent a character to give them a chance of training for administrative posts, and for a long time to come they must rely on outside help.

Those of us who, like myself, have been brought through this work into that close contact with the lowest conditions of labor on a scale which is in itself an experience rarely granted to women of our class, have become more and more convinced that organization is the only way to meet the terrible problems which we have to face; but, although we have to set ourselves against home labor and to call on the women at the forge, at the spindle, and the loom to stand shoulder to shoulder with the men and fight the battle of modern industry with them in the market of the world, yet we do this feeling, many of us, day by day the more strongly, that our place, the place of the women in the land, is not here, but at the hearth. If there were no other reason, a sufficient ground for our labors might be found in this,—that the homes of England are at stake; we are fighting for the manhood of her men, for the health of her women, for the future of her little children.

It is the home and the true welfare of the family which are menaced by the unregulated competition which, in our agricultural districts, sends the wife into the winter fields whilst the husband too often lounges by the pothouse fire; which hunts the Lancashire woman from her doors in the dawning day whilst the babe is yet hanging to her breast, or which chains the growing girl to the forge and rewards her week of labor by half a crown. We ask ourselves, Is it good that the man should stand idle? Is it good that the wife should work whilst the little ones cry for their mother, and her girls and boys are at play in the streets? And why does the married woman snatch greedily at the most miserably-paid forms of labor? Not because she has not enough to do at home, but because the husband's wage has been reduced till it no longer suffices for the maintenance of his family; because the little boy has no boots to go to school in, or the little girl lacks the warm clothing necessary to protect her in the bitter winter weather.

How can we blame the mother who, in such a case, sells her labor cheap? Yet that is what we must do, for we have to tell

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her that by accepting less than a fair day's wage for a fair day's work she is betraying her own interests, the interests of her husband, and the interests and future of her children. Even so it would be shameless to blame her, had we no remedy to propose; but in organization and union we have, as we believe, an all-potent remedy to offer. "Women," we say, "unite, combine, help your men to protect themselves and you. You will make things a little better soon for yourselves, and by-and-by a great deal better for the children who shall rise up to call you blessed."

EMILIA F. S. DILKE.

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THE WAR—SOME UNPUBLISHED HISTORY.

BY THE HON. CHARLES A. DANA.

Some time in February or March, 1864, a slender and prepossessing young fellow, between twenty-two and twenty-six apparently, applied at the War Department in Washington for employment as a spy within the Confederate lines. The main body of the Army of Northern Virginia was then lying at Gordonsville, and the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac were at Culpeper Court-House. General Grant had not yet come from the West to take command of the momentous campaign which finally opened with his movement into the Wilderness in the beginning of May.

The young man who sought this terrible service was well dressed and intelligent, and professed to be animated by motives purely patriotic. He was a clerk in the Treasury Department or the Interior Department, or possibly in one of the bureaus of the War Department; I don't remember which. All that he asked was that he should have a horse and an order which would carry him safely through the Federal lines; and in return he undertook to bring information from General Lee's army and from the government of the Confederacy in Richmond. He understood perfectly well the perilous nature of the enterprise he proposed.

Finding that the applicant bore a good character in the office where he was employed, it was determined to accept his proposal. He was furnished with a horse, an order that would pass him through the Union lines, and, also, I believe, with a moderate sum of money; and then he departed. Two or three weeks later he reported at the War Department. He had been in Gordonsville and Richmond; had obtained the confidence of the Confederate authorities, and was the bearer of a letter from Mr. Jefferson Davis to Mr. Clement C. Clay, the agent of the Confederate

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Government in Canada, then known to be stationed at St. Catherine's, not far from Niagara Falls. Mr. Clay had as his official associate Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, who had been Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Buchanan, and, like Mr. Clay, had been serving the Confederate Government ever since its organization. The letter from Mr. Davis the young man exhibited, but only the outside of the envelope was examined. The address was in the handwriting of the Confederate chief, and the statement of our young adventurer that it was merely a letter of recommendation advising Messrs. Clay and Thompson that they might repose confidence in the bearer, since he was ardently devoted to the Confederate cause and anxious to serve the great purpose that it had in view, appeared entirely probable; and the young man was allowed to proceed to Niagara Falls and Canada. He made some general report upon the condition of the rebel army at Gordonsville, but it was of no particular value, except that in its more interesting features it agreed with our information from other sources.

He was not long in returning from St. Catherine's with a despatch which was also allowed to pass unopened, upon his assurance that it contained nothing of importance. In this way he went back and forward from Richmond to St. Catherine's once or twice. We supplied him with money to a limited extent, and also with one or two more horses. He said that he got some money from the Confederates, but had not thought it prudent to accept from them anything more than very small sums, since his professed zeal for the Confederate cause forbade his receiving anything for his travelling expenses beyond what was absolutely necessary.

During the summer of 1864, the activity of Grant's campaign, and the fighting which prevailed all along the line, somewhat impeded our young man's expeditions, but did not stop them. All his despatches, however, whether coming from Richmond or from Canada, were regularly brought to the War Department, and were opened, and in every case a copy of them was kept. As it was necessary to break the seals and destroy the envelopes in opening them, there was some difficulty in sending them forward in what should appear to be the original wrappers. Coming from Canada, the paper employed was English, and there was a good deal of trouble in procuring paper of the same

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appearance. I remember also that one important despatch, which was sealed with Mr. Clay's seal, had to be delayed somewhat while we had an imitation seal engraved; but these delays were easily accounted for at Richmond by the pretence that they had been caused by accidents upon the road, and by the necessity of avoiding the Federal pickets. At any rate, the confidence of the Confederates in our agent, and in theirs, never seemed to be shaken by any of these occurrences.

Finally our despatch-bearer reported one day at the War Department with a document which, he said, was of extraordinary consequence. It was found to contain an account of a scheme for setting fire to New York and Chicago by means of clock-work machines that were to be placed in several of the large hotels and places of amusement, particularly in Barnum's Museum in New York, and to be set off simultaneously, so that the fire department in each place would be unable to attend to the great number of calls that would be made upon it, on account of these Confederate conflagrations in so many different quarters, and thus these cities might be greatly damaged, or even destroyed.

This despatch was duly sealed up again and was taken to Richmond, and a confidential officer was at once sent to New York to warn General Dix, who was in command there, of the Confederate project. The general was very unwilling to believe that any such design could be seriously entertained, and Mr. John A. Kennedy, then superintendent of police, was equally incredulous. But the Secretary of War was peremptory in his orders, and when the day of the incendiary attempt arrived both the military and the police made every preparation to prevent the threatened catastrophe. The officer who came from Washington was lodged in the St. Nicholas Hotel, one of the large establishments that were to be set on fire, and while he was washing his hands in the evening, preparatory to going to dinner, a fire began burning in the room next to his. It was promptly put out, and was found to be caused by a clock-work apparatus which had been left in that room by a lodger who had departed some hours before. In every instance these fires were extinguished without much damage and without exciting any considerable public attention, thanks to the precautions that had been taken in consequence of the warning derived from Mr. Clay's despatch to Mr. Benjamin in Richmond. The plan of setting fire to Chicago

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proved even more abortive; I do not remember that any report of actual burning was received from there.

Later in the fall, after the military operations had substantially terminated for the season, a despatch was brought from Canada signed by Mr. Clay and addressed to Mr. Benjamin, as Secretary of State in the Confederate Government, conveying the information that a new and really formidable military expedition against northern Vermont, particularly against Burlington, if I am not mistaken, had been organized and fitted out in Canada, and would make its attack as soon as practicable. This was after the well-known attempt upon St. Alban's and Lake Champlain, and promised to be much more injurious. The despatch reached Washington one Sunday morning and was brought to the War Department as usual, but its importance in the eyes of the Confederate agents had led to its being prepared for transportation with uncommon care. It was placed between two thicknesses of the pair of reënforced cavalry trousers which the messenger wore, and sewed up so that when he was mounted it was held between his thigh and the saddle.

Having been carefully ripped out and opened, it was immediately carried to Mr. Stanton, who was confined to his house by a cold. He read it. "This is serious," he said. "Go over to the White House and ask the President to come here." Mr. Lincoln was found dressing to go to church, and he was soon driven to Mr. Stanton's house. After discussing the subject in every aspect, and considering thoroughly the probability that to keep the despatch would put an end to communications by this channel, they determined that it must be kept. The conclusive reason for this step was that it established beyond question the fact that the Confederates, while sheltering themselves behind the British Government in Canada, had organized and fitted out a military expedition against the United States. But while the despatch afforded evidence that could not be gainsaid, the mere possession of it was not sufficient. It must be found in the possession of the Confederate despatch-bearer, and the circumstances attending its capture must be established in such a manner that the British Foreign Office would not be able to dispute the genuineness of the document. "We must have this paper for Seward," said Mr. Lincoln. "As for the young man, get him out of the scrape, if you can."

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Accordingly the paper was taken back to the War Department, and sewed up again in the trousers whence it had been taken three hours before. The bearer was instructed to start at dusk on the road which he usually took in passing through the lines; to be at a certain tavern outside of Alexandria at nine o'clock in the evening, and to stop there to water his horse. Then information was sent through Major-General Augur, commandant of Washington and the surrounding region, to General Wells, of New Hampshire, the military governor of Alexandria, directing him to be at this tavern at nine o'clock in the evening, and to arrest a Confederate despatch-bearer concerning whom authentic information had been received at the War Department, and whose description was furnished for Wells's guidance. He was to do him no injury, but to make sure of his person and of all papers that he might have upon him, and to bring him under a sufficient guard directly to the War Department; and General Augur was directed to be present there, in order to assist in the examination of the prisoner, and to verify any despatches that might be found.

Accordingly, just before midnight a carriage drove up to the door of the War Department with a soldier on the box and two soldiers on the front seat within, while the back seat was occupied by General Wells and the prisoner. Of course no one but the two or three who had been in the secret was aware that this gentleman had walked quietly out of the War Department only a few hours previously, and that the paper which was the cause of the entire ceremony had been sewed up in his clothes just before his departure. General Wells reported that, while the prisoner had offered no resistance, he was very violent and outrageous in his language, and that he boasted fiercely of his devotion to the Confederacy and his detestation of the Union. During the examination which now followed he said nothing except to answer a few questions, but his bearing, patient, scornful, undaunted, was that of an incomparable actor. If Mr. Clay and Mr. Benjamin had been present, they would have been more than ever certain that he was one of their noblest young men. His hat, boots, and other articles of his clothing were taken off one by one. The hat and boots were first searched, and finally the despatch was found in his trousers and taken out. Its nature and the method of its capture were stated in a memorandum which was drawn up on the spot and

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signed by General Augur and General Wells and one or two other officers who were there for the purpose ; and then the despatch-bearer himself was sent off to the old Capitol Prison.

The despatch, with the documents of verification, was handed over to Mr. Seward for use in London, and a day or two afterward the warden of the old Capitol Prison was directed to give the despatch-bearer an opportunity of escaping, with a proper show of attempted prevention. One afternoon he walked into my office. "Ah," said I, "you have run away !" "Yes, sir," he answered. "Did they shoot at you ?" "They did, and didn't hit me ; but I didn't think that would answer the purpose. So I shot myself through the arm." He showed me the wound. It was through the fleshy part of the forearm, and due care had been taken not to break any bones. A more deliberate and less dangerous wound could not be ; and yet it did not look trivial.

He was ordered to get away for Canada as promptly as possible, so that he might explain the loss of his despatch before it should become known there by any other means. An advertisement offering two thousand dollars for his recapture was at once inserted in the New York *Herald*, the Pittsburg *Journal*, and the Chicago *Tribune*. No one ever appeared to claim the reward ; but in about a week the escaped prisoner returned from Canada with new despatches that had been intrusted to him. They contained nothing of importance, however. The wound in his arm had borne testimony in his favor, and the fact that he had hurried through to St. Catherine's without having it dressed was thought to afford conclusive evidence of his fidelity to the Confederate cause.

The war was ended soon after this adventure, and, as his services had been of very great value, a new place, with the assurance of lasting employment, was found for the young man in one of the bureaus of the War Department. He did not remain there very long, however, and I don't know what has become of him. He was one of the cleverest creatures I ever saw. His style of patriotic lying was sublime ; it amounted to genius.

C. A. DANA.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE FAILURE OF THE JURY SYSTEM.

CHANCE stands at the threshold of the jury system, as jurors are selected by lot, regardless of their ability to weigh close questions of fact. Ignorance follows in the footsteps of chance, since the man who has formed opinions upon the topics of the day is liable to challenge.

The system by its operation forces a man from his bank or store, his farm or mill, and brings him into a court-room to decide a question upon the evidence as introduced in writing or by witnesses. Not accustomed to the place, he wonders at all that passes around him. In what state of mind is he to intelligently listen to and decide a question that may involve the financial interests of his neighbor or the life of a fellow-man? If a man whose time is of value, he cannot be expected to give close attention to the evidence when his thoughts have wandered to his business and he chafes beneath an imprisonment which may be of great damage to him. Men's opinions are influenced by their surroundings. Such a man is not in a condition to render intelligent and impartial verdicts.

Some argue that the good of the public should influence men to sacrifice their personal advantage, so that the able business and professional men of the land, whom no one would dare to approach with a bribe, might consent to serve on juries. Granted that this ought to be the case: but what ought to be is one thing; what is, quite another. All men ought to behave themselves, and then we would have less occasion for juries; but they will not do it.

We are viewing this question just as it now is, and not in the light which fancy may picture.

It is conceded and deplored that the men who are the best qualified to sit as jurors, if drawn, make some pretext which the court deems a sufficient excuse for them. Their places are filled by the incompetent. However, disregarding the danger of corruption and assuming that juries are composed of men of average intelligence, is it to be expected that they will render just verdicts?

From the very nature of the system, no.

In its infancy trials were very brief, one day, perhaps, being sufficient for the longest, and the interests involved were limited in importance. Then men of average intelligence could grasp and retain the material points in the evidence, at least until they had reached the jury-room. To-day trials run into months, so that before a case has been half-completed nearly all

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that has gone before is either a perfect blank to the majority of the jury or has become so confused that it is impossible for them to unravel it.

One never sees a member of a jury make a note of any of the points in evidence. Unaccustomed as he may be to memorizing numerous facts, he is expected to store in his memory for weeks or months all that the witnesses may say—a palpable impossibility.

Again, with an advancing civilization come new and varied interests, vast in proportions, which must be determined not by mere guesswork, but by men trained in weighing questions of moment and sifting the essential from the rubbish. Millions are to-day involved where hundreds once figured. To cope with all these conflicting questions requires more than the training acquired by a man on the farm, in the coal mine, the store, or the workshop. It needs men who by habits of life and thought have acquired the faculty of analyzing a proposition and deducing a correct conclusion and not a guess. Men of this class are not found—it is not expected that they will be found—among those who are drawn by chance.

No member of a jury is expected to know anything about the law applying to the case, but still, with millions of property or perhaps a human life at stake, he is expected to apply the law to the facts, and sits for his first lecture. That the long and learned instructions of the court fall by the wayside is only too evident, demonstrating the absurdity of a system that presumes them to be of value.

Confusion of law and fact is the result. You might as well call twelve men to the bedside of a sick man, and, after they had heard the facts as to his condition from the lips of the patient, the nurse, and his family, with instructions or a lecture from the attending physician sitting as judge, let them retire to a jury-room, there determine what afflicts the patient, and so inform the physician, who, like the judge, must then give the medicine according to the verdict.

Ten hundred and sixteen jurors were called and fifty-three days consumed before a jury was secured to try the Cronin case in Chicago, and the trial lasted one hundred and seven days, at an enormous expense; while eight men are under indictment for tampering with that jury.

The residents of New Orleans waited a month for the end of the trial of the Mafia, and then took fifteen minutes to accomplish what a jury by bribery or intimidation failed to do.

Chicago cannot afford to spend her time and money in trying a case under a system which but manufactures new criminals when attempting to convict the old.

The city of New Orleans should not be compelled to appall the civilized world by meeting crime with crime, at a great cost of time and money.

But waste of time and great expense are only slight incidents in comparison with the most glaring absurdity of the system—the rule requiring unanimity in the jury.

How difficult it is for two men of equal intelligence to draw the same conclusion from facts stated! Much more difficult it must be to call twelve men of different occupations, manners, and degrees of intelligence, and require them to think as a unit.

When the unanimity of twelve men was first required, a jury was composed of those who had personal knowledge of the question in dispute and were only witnesses. The rule was that twelve persons should be found who would agree upon a verdict. It was simply the amount of the evidence

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that was the spirit of the rule. Modern practice limits the number to twelve, making them a mere machine. Why the number twelve? Why should twelve be more capable than six? Why unanimity in finding a verdict when we trust a majority of the legislature to enact laws, a majority of the judges in a higher court to interpret them, and one man to enforce them? Unanimity breeds stubbornness, resulting in disagreement or an unreasonable verdict. Unanimity puts it in the power of one man to render worthless the result of weeks of labor and time of the court, attorneys, parties, jurors, witnesses, and all connected with the administration of justice. Further, it opens the door to corruption, since one out of twelve can be more easily bribed than a greater number.

We pass the fact that this system cannot but have a demoralizing effect upon practitioners at the bar, encouraging sophistry and chicanery, the inconsistency of allowing a jury to find a verdict and then permitting a court to set it aside, and call attention to that feature which in modern times threatens the very foundations of all government. It is the disregard that certain members of a jury may have for laws which conflict with their personal interest or against which they have a prejudice. The most notable are the laws on the liquor and Sunday questions. No matter how guilty the defendant, it is seldom that a jury will agree upon a conviction, thus practically repealing the laws through the prejudice of perhaps one man.

Leave the same questions to a court, and it would not dare to openly nullify the law, no matter what might be its personal feeling. It is the individual responsibility placed upon courts and their natural regard for all law that insure its proper administration by them. It is the lack of regard by certain jurors for all law that does not suit their fancy, and the screen which the secrecy of the jury-room affords, that make it possible for this abuse to exist. If the laws are unjust, a rigorous enforcement of them will effect their repeal by the proper authority; but so long as they do exist, that instrument, the jury, which is supposed to aid in carrying them out, should not be permitted to render them fruitless through the violation of the oath of one of its members.

Now that some of the faults of the system have been examined, it might be asked, what shall take its place? The answer is, a bench composed of a reasonable number of judges, three or five, who receive their office for life, by appointment.

First, there should be more than one judge, that he may be aided by the counsel of his associates, and so avoid the least suspicion of favoritism or prejudice.

Second, the court should receive its position by appointment and should not be composed of members of one political party, so that the administration of justice may be taken out of politics and its corrupting influences.

Some fear corruption through this plan. With it should come liberal laws for inquiring into the acts of such judges, and their removal if unfit. By paying them well for their services you at once remove the greatest motive that can corrupt any man, and place them in a position where they can be unmindful of public opinion.

Others argue that a bench of judges is too far removed from the common affairs of life to be able to decide questions of fact; seeming to forget that, as a rule, our judges have risen from the humblest walks of life, and have come into personal contact with the varied affairs of men. Men when they become judges do not necessarily lose their common-sense. Instead of being less

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competent than an ever-changing jury, they are the better qualified to judge of facts, since cases involving the same or similar questions will occur time and again, giving them knowledge by experience.

By this plan you no longer place a premium on ignorance, and you secure what is the prime object of every suit, allowing every one to assert his rights speedily, with the least expense and the highest degree of certainty.

CHARLES A. THATCHER.

A TERRIBLE POSSIBILITY.

"Now a bubble burst, and now a world."

OVID says that while Jupiter made the body of the brute to extend horizontally, its face looking upon the ground, he made man to stand erect, his gaze fixed upon the stars. This may have been the original intention, but if we may trust that most faithful of all mirrors, the daily press, the gaze of the average modern man would be better accommodated by the horizontal than by the erect position of the body. The gems which stud the heavens may be brighter and more numerous than those which lie buried in the ground, but they are not so available as collateral.

Now and then, however, the heavenly bodies assume a negative value which commands the attention of other men than astronomers. Some far-off star explodes, involving its retinue of planets in stupendous ruin. Why may not a similar fate befall our own star, the sun? Then what would become of us and our collateral? The possibility of such a catastrophe invests the sun with a sudden dignity and importance, which the beneficent glory, the unmenacing splendor, of ages could not give him. The common eye is momentarily lifted from the ground; even the daily newspaper honors the grand old luminary with a column or two. This is most apt to follow upon an especially active period of spots, with the consequent meteorological disturbances, like that which has recently occurred.

Science has delivered us from the terrors which afflicted the childhood of our race. Comets, those hobgoblins of the skies, and eclipses, those frightful feints of the angry gods, no longer blanch the faces of men. But for every imaginary terror she has banished, science has revealed a real danger. Microbes and bacteria replace the malevolent sprites of the water and the air; and in the spectacle of the actual conflagration of systems, men have forgotten their childish fear of comets and eclipses. The ghosts of the night have gone, but the sword, bullet, and torch, so to speak, of the day have come.

As we have asked, why may not our sun explode, or burst forth suddenly into such overwhelming intensity of radiation that the earth and all her sister-planets shall be shrivelled like insects in a glowing furnace? It would be an insignificant casualty in the universe, the extinguishment of but a single spark in the all-pervading fire.

Change is the law of all physical being. Nothing is immortal but the ultimate atom. The sun and its planets had a beginning: they must have an end. When will that end come? Not for many æons yet, we hope. But though we all hope to die at a good old age, some of us must die to-morrow. If to-night the astronomer descries some remote system "into ruin hurled," to-morrow night may see our own sharing the same fate.

This is possible, but not probable. Though death is the destiny of all, monads, men, and worlds alike, as a rule it does not come without ample

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warning. In the vast majority of cases it is preceded by unmistakable symptoms. So far has spectroscopic science advanced that it is able to classify stars very much as medical science classifies men, into the "healthy," the "doubtful," and the "dangerous." Our sun, we are rejoiced to learn, is rated among the "healthy." Its eleven-year periods of spots are not the morbid intermittence of fever, but the natural pulsations of its great, glowing heart.

Even if its intensity of radiation should rise far above the usual maximum, it would not necessarily be destructive of planetary life. Tyndall has shown by a series of more than a thousand experiments that an extremely slight change in the constitution of the atmosphere would make a very great difference in its heat-absorbing and heat-transmitting power. A little increase in the average amount of watery vapor held in suspension, for instance, would change a tropical to a temperate climate. In its oceans, therefore, the earth has a shield against the fiery darts of her great lord and master. If they should grow too fierce, like a woman she would quench them with *salt water.*

We may therefore contemplate the dangers to which the solar system is exposed with the same calm unconcern with which the man in robust health contemplates his own possible untimely demise.

E. P. JACKSON.

"GREATER NEW YORK."

THE question of creating a huge American city with the island of Manhattan as its centre, which was under consideration at the recent session of the New York Legislature, is one of more than local importance. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that it is a question of national interest.

If the plan agreed upon by the commission appointed in 1890 to consider the subject should be adopted and carried into effect, "Greater New York" —as the projected city is sometimes rather magniloquently called—would surpass Paris in point of population, and would rank second only to London among the great cities of the world. It is indisputable that there would be something agreeable to American pride in an achievement with such a result.

But there is another consideration of no small moment in the minds of not a few persons. It is evident, taking into consideration the rapid growth of Chicago as shown by the last census, that it will not be many years before that marvellous metropolis of the West comes into close competition with New York on the score of numbers. When that time is at hand, it is confidently expected that a wonderful impulse in the direction of consolidation will make itself felt, and that New York and all its environs will make haste, by the process of wholesale annexation, to ward off the threatened calamity of the removal of the country's most populous city from the Atlantic seaboard to the prairies of the West.

The bill prepared and reported by the commission already mentioned was passed by only one branch of the Legislature of the present year; but the commission still remains in existence, and will doubtless prepare another measure for presentation to the next Legislature. The matter is now fairly before the public,—though profound interest in it seems to be confined to a small group of persons,—and the agitation is likely to be kept up until something like an authoritative decision of the question is arrived at. The pass-

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age of this year's bill, however, would by no means have meant the consolidation forthwith of the cities, towns, and country districts around New York with that metropolis.

Before proceeding further let us inquire into the scope and purpose of this measure. It simply authorized the members of the commission to "prepare and submit to the Legislature a charter for the incorporation, government, and administration of a city to comprehend" the city of New York; the county of Kings, which includes the city of Brooklyn; the whole of Richmond County (Staten Island); a portion of Westchester County lying directly north of the present northerly boundary of New York city; and a considerable section of Queens County, on Long Island, including Long Island City, which adjoins Brooklyn on the northeast. This combined municipality was to be known as the city of New York, and its government and administration were to be vested in one chief executive officer and two legislative boards; the several municipal administrative departments to be, as far as possible, each under a single head.

It may be frankly admitted that the project is one that appeals to sentiment and the imagination rather than to the practical judgment. The burden of proof lies, of course, with the advocates of consolidation. There are no evidences of any strong popular sentiment in favor of the commission's plan, or of any plan—though no other has been formulated—for bringing about the same result. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the general feeling on the subject is that, while New York is quite willing to take its neighbors to its ample breast, the question is not for New York to decide, but should be left to the determination of the several communities which are asked to sink their identity in the greater mass of the metropolis. That Brooklyn, for instance, is willing to give up its name and autonomy, and become no more than an outlying district of New York, is one of the things that the friends of annexation have as yet failed to prove. The questions that naturally arise in the minds of Brooklyn people when the subject is opened are: What have we to gain by consolidation? Are we to have any lower taxes? Are we to get a better local administration? What compensation are we to receive beyond the merely sentimental one of being citizens of the second largest city in the world? It must be admitted that these are practical, even vital, questions; and no satisfactory answer to them has been given.

The weak point in the American system of self-government is the government of cities. As that keen-sighted and philosophic observer Professor Bryce has said: "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States. The deficiencies of the National government tell but little for evil on the welfare of the people. The faults of the State governments are insignificant compared with the extravagance, corruption, and mismanagement which mark the administration of most of the great cities. For these evils are not confined to one or two cities. . . . There is not a city with a population exceeding 200,000 where the poison germs have not sprung into a vigorous life; and in some of the smaller ones, down to 70,000, it needs no microscope to note the results of their growth."

Now, if this is the case with the cities that we already have,—and undeniably it is so,—what would be the result of creating a city once-and-a-half as large as the largest that now exists in America? Would it not be merely to multiply the evils that have already had so rank a growth? This is a question that must give the consolidationists pause. So far is the problem of

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municipal government from being solved, and so notoriously bad is the administration of New York at present, that the thought of properly governing a city nearly twice as large is nothing short of appalling.

Nor is there any assurance that the already overburdened taxpayers of the cities adjacent to Manhattan Island would find any relief in being swallowed up by their big neighbor; while it is almost certain that the residents of the rural communities which it is proposed to absorb would find their burdens on this score sensibly increased, without any corresponding advantages. And, furthermore, there is the danger that the annexed municipalities and districts might not receive wholly fair treatment in the matter of expenditures and improvements if they should intrust their fate to the tender mercies of New York, which would necessarily control the purse-strings of the future city.

After all, the main question is whether Brooklyn, Long Island City, Staten Island, etc., desire to be added to New York. Without doubt New York would not refuse to take them in should they come knocking at its doors. To compare a thing not small with one greater, the situation is very much the same as that of Canada in its relation to the United States. Our people are generally agreed that they will make no effort to capture what Mr. Wiman is never weary of calling the "greater half of the continent"; and they are likewise generally agreed that as soon as a movement toward annexation comes from Canada, the United States stands ready to do its part towards enlarging its borders on the north.

So it is, or, at any rate, ought to be, with New York and its neighbors. The movement toward consolidation should proceed not from it, but from them. Thus far they have shown almost no desire in that direction. A popular vote on the subject in Brooklyn, for example, would in all probability disclose a very large majority in favor of retaining that city on the map of the Empire State. The failure of the bill in the Legislature a few months ago provoked no lamentations. Consolidation is, in fact, the *fad* of a few men who are fond of publicity and of posing as benefactors of their generation.

EMERSON PALMER.

HARNESSING THE RAIN-CLOUD.

IT IS wonderful in how many different directions, all at once, scientific realities are superseding ignorant superstitions. We laugh at the predictions of the alarmist who fixes the date of the world's destruction by a tortured interpretation of some Scriptural cryptogram, but the facts of solar physics have a bearing upon the subject which is no laughing matter. The Indian believes that his big medicine-man can open and shut the flood-gates of the heavens at his pleasure, and some of his white brethren still hold a similar belief—a belief that Tyndall has so irreverently ridiculed in his famous challenge.

But though science can admit neither big medicine nor prayer among her "motors," though neither has any demonstrable physical connection with the atmosphere or the clouds, the same cannot be said of the agencies with which General Dyrenforth is experimenting under the patronage of the government. He proposes to bring down the rain, not by charms or incantations, but by perfectly natural means—the simultaneous or serial explosion

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of immense volumes of oxygen and hydrogen, mixed in due chemical proportion, and sent up in balloons to greater or less elevations, according to the hygrometric condition of the aërial strata. Thus far the attempt has been, not actually to produce a rainfall, but simply to test the elevating and exploding apparatus used, and more especially to reduce its expensiveness within the practicable limit. When this shall have been satisfactorily accomplished, the next step will be to try the experiment on a sufficiently large scale to produce the desired effect—*i. e.*, at times and places when and where it would be reasonably certain that there would otherwise be no rainfall, such as, for example, the arid districts of Kansas and the Texas Panhandle, or possibly parts of the western coast of South America, where such a phenomenon as a fall of rain is scarcely known.

No atmospheric air in its natural condition is without a certain amount of watery vapor held in suspension. It is, of course, only necessary to bring a sufficiently great pressure to bear upon it to force precipitation of its moisture in the form of dew, mist, hail, snow, or rain. Even the scorched air of the great African desert has its "dew-point," and if it could be suddenly reduced to this temperature, there would be—what probably has never been seen since the continent took on its present form—a terrific thunderstorm in the desert of Sahara!

The abundant rains which almost invariably follow earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, great battles, great conflagrations, and the widespread concussions of Independence Day long ago suggested the possibility of human control over the elements. Not until the course of experiments now in progress, however, have any really energetic or promising attempts been made in this direction.

A popular belief is that on the occasions which have been named, battles, volcanic eruptions, etc., it is merely the tremendous concussions which cause the precipitation of rain; that the moisture is held in a sort of equipoise, from which it is thrown as a shower of walnuts is brought down by shaking the tree! In fact, however, the effective cause is the sudden condensation of the air from a reduction in its temperature. The heat generated by the explosions of gunpowder, oxyhydrogen gas, etc., great as it is, is utterly insignificant in comparison with the cold produced by the sudden expansion of their gases. The principle may be easily illustrated by sprinkling the floor of a hall on a hot day with boiling water. Notwithstanding the heat of the water, the room is speedily cooled by its evaporation.

WALTER J. GRACE.

ARE WE ANGLO-SAXONS?

IN PROPORTION as the North American republic grows powerful and overshadowing, grows the anxiety of Englishmen to have it understood that this potent factor in the world's affairs is what they term Anglo-Saxon; that it is Anglo-Saxon in race, feeling, and literature. Matthew Arnold, Goldwin Smith, Edward A. Freeman, and James Anthony Froude, all British Chauvinists, are the most distinguished advocates of the idea—an idea received with enthusiasm by some here in America, with indifference by others, but by a large section of our people with dislike, because it is false and because it is offensive. Those great writers are Englishmen who see more or less clearly into the future. They see that the day is surely coming when England will have to take her place behind the American republic, and they would

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like their countrymen coming after them to be able to say: "What does it matter, after all, whether it be the elder or younger branch of the Anglo-Saxon race which shall influence, perhaps sway, the world's destinies and shape its literature and civilization, provided it be Anglo-Saxon?"

While Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne never wearied of glorifying the Anglo-Saxon. The idea ran through most of his speeches; he was never so happy as when congratulating his mother-in-law's subjects on the fact that they were part and parcel of the imperial race that many enthusiasts assert has sprung from the lost tribes of Israel. And yet the noble marquis is himself heir to the chieftaincy of a great Celtic tribe, and will be the McCallum More on the death of the Duke of Argyll. In addressing Canadians in such a strain, his lordship was absurd, inaccurate, and unphilosophical. Had he taken time to think, he would have realized that the people he called Anglo-Saxon were Celtic, even as the Campbells themselves. The leader of the Canadian Government in his time was Sir John A. Macdonald, whose name speaks for itself; his lieutenant was the French Sir Hector Langevin; the leader in opposition the Scottish Celt Alexander MacKenzie, and his second in command the French Wilfred Laurier. One-third of Canada's population is French—that is to say, Celto-Latin; one-third Irish and Highland Scottish, and the remaining third of English and German descent. The marquis was about as ethnologically correct in addressing Canadians as Anglo-Saxons as was Mr. Blaine in his letter accepting the nomination for the Presidency in 1884, when he drew a distinction between the two Americas by terming one of them Spanish and the other Anglo-Saxon.

Is it necessary, in order to escape the trouble of disputing over an unscientific expression, that Irishmen, for instance, should tacitly admit the Anglo-Saxon to be something like a proprietor of these United States and representative of a race aristocracy? What about the descendants of Frenchmen, of Germans, of Slavs, and of Scandinavians, who do not admit Anglo-Saxon superiority? When, overpowered by his emotions, the average Fourth-of-July orator eulogizes the Anglo-Saxon, he does not pause to consider that the Celts and Germans among his audience may inquire of one another if there is any room on this continent for them. It may flatter the vanity of the orator and a portion of his hearers to have it admitted that they, the race aristocracy of the land, are allied in blood to the Anglo-Saxon on the other side of the Atlantic who rules so mighty an empire, or, merely exulting in his ignorance, he may imagine that every white man is an Anglo-Saxon. The writers who sit calmly down with white paper before them and thinking pens grasped in their fingers—and there are thousands of them—have not the same excuse, and yet they ring the changes on the Anglo-Saxon idea in and out of season.

There are several ways of arriving at a fair approximation as to what race the American people really belong to or are descended from; among them names, language, immigration, figures, and features. Now, while there can be no question that the English language is all but universally spoken in the United States and Canada, it is spoken as eloquently and sonorously by the Irish-American Daniel Dougherty, the French-American Chauncey M. Depew, the German-American Carl Schurz, as by the Anglo-Saxon American Henry James or John Sherman. Seven or eight millions of African descent also speak the English language, but they do not claim to be Anglo-Saxons.

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It is probable that after the fall of Louisburg, when England became supreme in that part of North America not controlled by Spain, the Anglo-Saxon element largely predominated, though, of course, coming in contact all over with hundreds of thousands who were of Spanish, French, Dutch, or German origin, not forgetting Irish, which race must be always kept distinct from the English or Anglo-Saxon as a different—nay, unfortunately a hostile—element. Now, for purposes of ethnological classification, and lacking accurate data, we say of Russia that it is Slav, of Germany that it is Teutonic, of Ireland that it is Celtic, and of England that it is Anglo-Saxon. This is language of the roughest and loosest kind, as each of those countries has more or less of a mixed population, and England most of all. Still it must serve for want of better. We have to begin somewhere, and it is just as reasonable to call an Irishman a Celt as to call an Englishman an Anglo-Saxon.

When the first census of the republic was taken, in 1790, the white population was found to be 3,172,006. Assuming that all English are Anglo-Saxon, what was the proportion of that element in the number? I consider 2,000,000 a liberal allowance, and so take that figure as a basis for argument, more for its roundness than because it may be correct. Supposing, then, that those two millions had received no accession of strength from extraneous sources, to what number would they have increased, let us say, up to 1880? Unfortunately no one can say. There are in existence no statistics showing the natural increase of the American people. The answer would be simple enough were it not for the immense volume of immigration from Europe, Canada, Mexico, and other American countries between the years 1820 and 1880, containing upwards of ten millions of souls who intermingled with the American people and became part of the national life.

In order, therefore, to arrive at anything like a fair conclusion as to what may be termed the present value by natural increase of the original 2,000,000 Anglo-Saxons, it will be necessary to have recourse to analogy. There is one element in the United States which has received no increase worth speaking of in immigration, and that is the African. It is known that in 1790 the colored population, bond and free, was 757,208, and in 1880, 6,580,793; which is an increase of 770 per cent. in ninety years. Now, if the 2,000,000 Anglo-Saxons increased in the same ratio, their number in 1880 would have reached 15,400,000. As a matter of fact, the colored population increased more in proportion than the Caucasian until within a very recent period; but as we are moving over hypothetical grounds, let that not interfere with the argument.

The next question to be answered is, To what extent has the Anglo-Saxon benefited by immigration from the mother-land? Mr. Ainsworth Spofford, the librarian of Congress, informs us that between 1779 and 1820 the immigration to this country is estimated to be 250,000, of which for obvious reasons the Anglo-Saxons formed a very small percentage. After 1820 we have official figures at our disposal, and tread on more solid ground. From Mr. Spofford's returns I find that from 1820 to 1879 (both years inclusive) 9,908,709 immigrant from Europe and British America settled in the United States. The subjoined figures show the nationality of those immigrants: England, 894,444; Ireland, 3,061,761; Scotland, 159,547; Wales, 17,893; Great Britain (not specified), 560,453; Austro-Hungary, 65,588; Belgium, 23,267; France, 313,716; Germany, 3,002,027; Greece, 385; Italy, 70,181; Netherlands, 44,319; Poland, 14,831; Portugal, 9,062; Russia, 38,316; Spain, 28,091; Scan-

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dinavia, 306,092; Switzerland, 83,709; British America, 568,941; other countries, 97,007; miscellaneous (unknown), 255,778.

It will be seen from these figures that England alone furnished less than a tenth of this volume of immigration; but allowing half of the Scotch contingent to be Anglo-Saxon and a fourth of the Canadians to be of the same race, the sum would be 1,115,450, which added to the 15,400,000 above would make a total of a little over sixteen and a half millions in 1880, plus the natural increase of the immigrants, which, if set down at half a million would allow the people of Anglo-Saxon blood in this country in that year to be 17,000,000, or about seventeen forty-fourths of the white population. I do not take the 560,453 immigrants from Great Britain (not specified) into this account, as I believe they were Irish and other Europeans. It is well known—the "Encyclopædia Britannica" is authority for it—that the English Immigration Bureau kept track of English emigrants proper sailing from English ports, while as for others it often did not take the trouble to classify them according to nationality. Since 1880 upwards of 7,000,000 immigrants from Europe and British America have entered the United States, chiefly from Germany, Scandinavia, Ireland, and Italy, and relatively few from England; and at this present moment the most liberal estimate could not allow more than 18,000,000 of Anglo-Saxon blood in the country.

The features of the people resemble the Celto-Latin races more than the Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic. The average Englishman is fair; the average American dark; the face of the average Englishman inclines to flatness; that of the American is sharp and aggressive, with a Celtic contour.

Names furnish little or no indication of race. Names, whether German, French, or Irish, get translated or anglicized with ease and rapidity. Thus Schmidt and Jansen change to Smith and Johnson after a generation: Lemarch, Dubois, Leblanc, and Lenoir are translated into Walker, Wood, White, and Black; and the Irish names Callahan, Mahoney, and Greehan are modified to Calhoun, Mahone, and Green. As was stated in an article in THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for October, 1886, Europe, not England, is the mother of America, and, this being so, we should all be content with our Caucasian origin and American citizenship, and we should be proud to see even in this generation a type developing itself which is destined to pass into the future as essentially American, as different from Celtic as from Latin, as different from Anglo-Saxon as from either—a type which while still new will so spread and assert itself as to render impossible a Cossack or Chinese destruction of the world's civilization.

JOHN C. FLEMING.

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